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262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
• 793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

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tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
[642 421] created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and feather-workers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[a] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

[727] Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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war or sacrifice, childbirth or drowning, passed upon death to their domain. (See Plate 55, bottom left.)

This incomplete description of the gods and goddesses who thronged the Aztec pantheon gives an idea of their variety of purpose and character, outlined more fully in Table X. For an individual to try to do honor to so many gods could result in an insupportable situation. Yet even the modern Navajos pass a third of their time in ceremonial activity, and they do not have half the economic wealth of the Aztec peoples. While the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do the most ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.

The priests gave guidance and prescribed the ceremonies, and the worshipers gave heed to those especial divinities upon whose patronage their life directly depended, much as a devout Catholic selects certain saints for veneration above the list of those whose days are recorded on the calendar. In the same way the Aztec tribal god has his counterpart in the patron saint of country, town or craft. The Aztec, however, thought of his gods as having strong material powers, but their spiritual aspect counted little with him.

The ritual of Aztec religion was as complex as the theology. The organization of the priesthood followed the pyramided structure of the social order, but the ceremonies were worked out in accordance with the ritualistic requirements of the calendar and the seasons. In the following chapter we shall describe the priesthood, the ceremonies and also the Aztec methods of counting, recording and using time.

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CHAPTER XI

RITUAL

In which are Summarized the Nature of the Religious Organization, the Feasts, and the Relationship between Ritual, Calendar and Writing

RELIGION was a general group activity necessary for the social and economic safekeeping of the tribe, and the priesthood was a highly important force in the direction of the communal life. In the early simple societies there were two executive chiefs, one for war and one for religious affairs. We do not know whether the priesthood comprised laymen who performed the ritual acts of specific ceremonies or whether it was an established group whose whole life was devoted to religious ends. It is probable that selected individuals originally carried out the religious duties of the tribe in addition to their civil obligations, but as Aztec culture became more elaborate, the complexity of their functions molded them into a body of permanent officials.[1]

In Tenochtitlan the Chief of Men and the Snake Woman had double duties in respect to civil and religious affairs, the former actively leading the services and the latter supervising the temples, the form of the rites and the internal affairs of the priesthood. Two high priests directed cult activities in honor of the War God, Huitzilopochtli, and the Rain God, Tlaloc, the chief divinities worshiped in this city. They

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793 were called *Quetzalcoatl-Totec-tlamacazqui*[*] and *Quetzalcoatl-Tlaloc-tlamacazqui*. The name Quetzalcoatl was given them perhaps as an honorific title in memory of the God of Civilization and Learning, who was the archetype of the priestly ideal. The second names refer to the gods of the respective cults, and the third word means priest. Ranking below these two officials was a third, *Mexicatl-Teohuatzin*, who, like a vicar-general, supervised general religious business in the city-state and conquered towns. Two assistants looked after the instruction in the schools for citizen-warriors and for priests, and other officials supervised the pulque ceremonies.[2]

Next in rank were the priests who were in charge of the worship, temple and ritual of each specific god or goddess and who, in the ceremonies, assumed the dress of the divinity, impersonating him on earth. They, in turn, had a host of assistants who were supplemented by aspirants to the priesthood, the bottom of the hierarchical scale. There seem to have been priestesses as well, and schools for their instruction were established in connection with certain temples. As
789 might be expected as an accompaniment of a highly ritualized religion far above the comprehension of the masses, there was an active practice of magic carried on by male and female witch doctors. Undoubtedly many of these unsanctioned rites were rooted in the more primitive stages of the Aztec development; and in modern times, although the formal Aztec religion has been almost completely eradicated, the indigenous population continues many of the old magico-medical practices.

793 The priests, however, directed the intellectual life of the

[*] Kay-tz'al-co-atl-To'-tec-tla-mah-ca'z-kee.

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tribe. They elaborated cult ritual and so instilled the realization of the power and proximity of the gods into the minds of the people that even their arts were dedicated chiefly to religious expression. The complicated astronomic and mathematical computations that kept the solar and religious calendars in harmony with the passage of the seasons were also the province of the priesthood. The priests arrayed the dancers, who, depicting mythological events, performed a type of mass drama. Aztec life under hierarchical direction became a pattern of rhythmic ritual, and this continued ceremony served the more firmly to establish the priests as interpreters of the divine order. One has the impression that the priests never overtly showed their temporal power. Situated as they were, with the instruments for interpreting the divine will in their own hands, they had to follow the exactions of ritual far more exigently than did the masses. Were one to choose a single word to describe Aztec government, it would be theocracy. The gods ruled; the priests interpreted and interposed, and the people obeyed, not the priests, but the rhythm of action whereby the gods lived. (See Plate 58, middle.)

At the core of the religion stood the calendar, which was arranged in two divisions: a ritualistic succession of days, the *tonalpohualli* (Table XIII–XVI), and a solar calendar (Table XVII), divided into eighteen twenty-day months and a five-day unlucky period, in which the months' names related to crops and indicated the agricultural origin of this time count. A combination of the two systems permitted the numbering of years, which were counted not on an infinite scale, as with us, but in terms of a fifty-two-year cycle.[8]

The *tonalpohualli*, sometimes erroneously referred to as

[text continues on p. 190. - Analyst]

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growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

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Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

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Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[53]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were goddesses [deesses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteo).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one opened, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolnotli offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green [783] and yellow waters.[56]

And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, 793 one told one's sins.

776 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]

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Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: yoan itoca ixcujna, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçolteotl, qujl ipampa, qujl inhoatl yiaoca, ytlatqui, ytech pouj, in tenbeli, in tlaçalli: in qujnnequj, xvilnemjlizt[li], qujl ipan tecuj, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjlizquil.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcujna: qujl nauinti ezah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc ve, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocotzin. Jnjquo hin, nauinti cioa: quj tetan. Jnjquo hin, cecenca ynnoca: tlaçolteteo.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlaelquanj: qujl ipampa, inirpá mjtoa, imjxpan mopou, yn jxquich nequalli: ixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jxquich tlabellachinalli: immanel conca temamauhti, irmanel conca onjh: atle nopinâtvicaoa, vel mochi, ixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoalizt[li].

Qujlnach in tlaçolli, in tenbeli, in aujlnemjlizticotl: inhoatl qujtemaca, ic temoela, ic tehipitza in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no inhoatl, quitepolhuja: inhoatl chico, tzmoac qujujca, quinca: inhoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: inhoatl imac manj yn matlalat, in tzopalat.

Auh injc quitepopolhuja ynjc chico, tlamoac, qujujca, quinca: ixpan neiolcujtilo, ixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçolteotl, ixpá mopou, mjtoa, in tetlachiual.

[846] 793 And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

776 And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58] Auh iix, ynacac, ytlacatcauh machioa, in tlapouhqui, in

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783 53. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Bibliotec del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Ensayo Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuiname*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as named by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was that deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar illegal sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the drawing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Name of filth or of sickness (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*cosas de cosas sucias.*"

56. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only embleematic of the sensibility and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, cause soon thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*, May she cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, cause to thy Mother, the Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalat*), the yellow, (*Tzopelat*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), notes ". . . *entrasse con que la partera metio a la diosa del agua llamada Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhcihuatlatonac, y dezia así: 'Señora muestra Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhcihuatlatonac, vuestra hu a vuestro pruvenido este criatura: rrelgue que la rreciuio.' Dicho esto la partera lauaba el agua echaba sobre ella su rrocalle, y luego la daba a gostar a la criatura y tambien la tocaba el pecho con ella, y el colodrio de la cabeza, a manera de quando se pone el dios y crisma a los niños, y dezia de esta manera: 'Hija mia muy amada,—y si era muger dezia, hija mia muy amada—, llegate a vuestra madre y padre la señora Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhcihuatlatonac; tomare ella, porque ella es la de lavar a cuestas y en los braços en este mundo.' Y luego metia en el agua a la criatura, y dezia: 'Entra hija mia—o hija mia—en el agua, que es llamada Matlalat y Tzopelac; lavara en ella, limpiara lo que esta en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traxo con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Translation of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess holds the hand of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (xiii, remarks); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 299.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Ensayo Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalendermenschen*.

the tlapouhqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting: the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[39]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[40] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[41] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer was there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expunge] thy evil odor, thy corruptness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac mozj, yn amoxtli, yn tlacujlolli: in quijpia 776
yn tilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonozale, yn 793
equjto 783

yn mojolmelaoez in tlapilchiuale; achto qujtlacaquijtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnexitimequj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ypopoztin, ypeclacaltzin, njcnotitilimequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimoclacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iqujn oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta [787]
yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iqujn qualli tonalli, yn
ieccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynaoetilpan, iancujc petlatl quicoa: yoan copalli, yoan quaujtl: yn tlamauizti in tlamaceuhquj, çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamaceuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in motoca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia; [788]
yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj,
qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Tetzu ynnan, tetzu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macoualli: njcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, motzupoubtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlemj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli, yn çacamjtl; aquj iolitlaoa, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquehe naoaquehe, manoço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnentlamachilliz yn macoualli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in iehoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Tioalmovicatia yujcxtinco, iipantzinco, in tloque naoaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmomaqujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma no ceppa ieh njcan timatoisuj, timotepexiuj: ma inpantzinco ximopeptlaoa, ximomaxazuj, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaittaz in totecujo, a cujx mjztlacanotaz: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynjn quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo im motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in mocemjlia, in motlachioal, yvin quenjn ticmati, yvin quenjn cah: in quenjn muchiuh, in quenjn tax; in quenjn ticchiah, in monequal, in monequaujtec:

xicnoquj, xicpetlanj, in xaiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xicmoclaoculaocuilcnochili, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque,

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39. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Sahagún, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

40. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yoalli, ehecatl* (1) "*espíritu, aire y invisible*"; and (2) "*Dios invisible sin cuerpo . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y independiente, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . .*" Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Colombia, Máster: n. p., 1949), p. 113, translates *tloque naoaque* as "*que está cerca y junto*" —the one, God in general.

41. Context suggests that penitent refers to the penitent.

776 who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and
783 carrieth thee upon his back.[62]
793 "Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke. For [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his
776 sins.
783 Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he
793 said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Ciuapipilti descend, when the feast of the Ciuapipilti or the Izcuiname is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *maguey* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *maguey* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momaqualtitica, y macuchetica, in tepetzetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma tizicolo.

Nimá ōdalqua in tlamaceuhquj, omocpaltema: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc teviujti, ynjc tepatilloti, ynjc teixiptla.

Totecujoe, tloquehe, naoaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njmopepetlaoa, njnomamazauja: ca onaz, ca onjechiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaitoaian, ca tetzac, ca tlavilpan im mjxpantzinco, yn onaz.

Niman ompeoaltia: in jtlapilchioaliz, vel iujn quenjn cah, vel yujn quenjn quichiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin conena, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh quichiuh, in imaca çan vcli, cencan quitocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan quitocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi quito ytlachioal:

quinanquilia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jxtli, yn nacastli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: quilhuja.

O ca ticmononochilia, ca ticmomaquilia, in tloque naoaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca izca yn taiz, yn ticchicaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoço yn jquac ymilhujuh cioapipilti, yn jxcujname: nauilujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlacuilçaoaz, timotemoatiaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallauh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoquiztiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh tiquamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: yntla tiçacatlaçaz, iehoxt in trucalçacatl tiquiztiz, anoço tlacotl. Auh aço monacaxaco in titlaquiztiz, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiquiztiz: ca amo ma çan titlamacoco, ca teuhtli, tlaçalli in tictlaça, tictlacuçoa, ticcujtlacuiponia, ỹ monenepil, mjxpampa ticaquiz,

motzintlan in ticquiztiz, in tictlaçaz: aço çan cecen in ticquiztiz, anoço çan ticcenquiztiz, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in ticquiztiz tlacotl:

ic polixiz, in motlatlacol, in motlapilchioal, in monequal.

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62. *Cf.* Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The Cinateteo or Ciuapipilti were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tzotzobtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee, [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamacruhquj: 785
qujlhuja,
timotzneoatzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, 776
naujlhujtl: 783
anoço qujlhuja
titlatotix, timotetzuhcaoaz, titepiquix: 793

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vetli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiquinquixtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc quinnanotia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamacoaz inaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlaubtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcupecalli in mantiaz: centêl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac ticalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, yn mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamacuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjlitcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, qujl ça aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequauhjtectli, in ortlaximalistli: in quitoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, ichoatl, ynjc amo tzacujlxiloloque, njcan tlaltiepac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjlotz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonalotz, moiolmelaoa. [684]

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan quitoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein illujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonoczalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, in macroalli.

Jnic matlactli vney, capitulo: ynnechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton teteuh: yn quintaqujlia, yn onoteneuhque, yn vncicnin teteuh. 776

Xiuhtecutli: inoçauhquj, youn cueçalizin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl youan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techchinoa, tlachinoa: youn mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacuelia: ca ic nezcalo, ic tlapaoazo, ic tlacuzitilo, ic tlazco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tomextlatilo, ic tlatemjoujlo, yc tlatemjoujlo, ic tlatlaoatzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temaxcallatilo, ic otitlatilo, ic tlauextlatilo.

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64. The most characteristic emblem of Tlazolteotl is a brown wrapped with a *tlalitzcopinalli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text lines *"que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos."*

776 Quetzalcoat, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itztc
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
755 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepictne].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round seeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepictne] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictne] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictne were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictotom, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictotom].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
463] people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictotom [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictotom figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictne thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

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117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Itztc tepetl (Itztc cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoc mantli*), in the Spanish columns; Siehe randnote in europäischen *Samen des Starkebaukorn* (Einige Kapitel, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetimili*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 128).

papucatepetl, itztc tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in ça̧o quenquixtel tepetl in quixtemoaz in quipiqui.

Auh in quipiqui̧a, in quimixpolotiaia in tepe, ça̧n tzoalli, quiztlacatlaliaia, quiztlacatlachieltiaia, tlacatlachiticatca:

quiztlaxtlaia xiocochtli, auh in quimixtololotiaia xiecutli: in quemanj yxtlatqui in quimixipolatiaia, in quipiqui̧a ça̧n no ixhqui yxjc quichichioaia.

Auh yoan quichioaia, amatemiqui, colchachapatzaia, colchipiniaia, quipoquequentiaia:

auh in oqui amatemiyo, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, necatiuch quipipiloaia, necatiuch quixoneuchilpiaia, quixoneuchca̧loaia, ymixpan anoc, ic itzacutoque in tepictne:

hiçnacutoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, octopiloquiuhtl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn iuch anoc tetzujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaixtlatactli: ymixpan nemanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vetli vnca ca, vetli ic nemanca.

Auh ça̧n iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jnteçuiuh, in machiceque catca, yn quimchichioaia, in quimtlaliaia: aiac ça̧n moiocuiaia, in calla in quimchichioaia.

Auh mo̧cujltica in quimtlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepictne, njman ie ic quinto̧cviia, quincujcatia:

in cricoal napa in quimtlamanjlia, tamalololli in quimacaia, quimanaia ymixpã, in tlamacazque, in tepiocujca:

no napa in quimtlamacaia cricoal, yoan quimtlapichilliaia,

quinmaquiquixtiliaia tecuciutli in quixpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitzoaia, ça̧n tolpopochtzi, papaquixnj, haavienj, mihivietienj, tecocmeltienj, cecelequa, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quimonictia yn tepictne, quixquichcotona, quixquichcuj, quixquichilacatona, ça̧nyan quixcomololoa, cmecicuj, in tepictzonalli, quixquj yn calmecac yn vnqa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquixnj, njman ie yc calaquixh yn itlacuonomalhuan, yn jcuaconan, vncan onopia, onopiznoque:

auh in ie inuetziuh, in ie tevtlaz niman ie ic tlaoana, motlaoancatalalia in veuetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachi-

One day before they slew the woman who was to die in honor of the goddess Xilonen, the women who served on the pyramid (who were called *cioatlamacazque*) performed a dance in the courtyard of this same pyramid, and sang the [hymns of] praise and the canticles of this goddess. They all went surrounding her who was to die [and] who went bedight in the ornaments of this goddess. In this way, singing and dancing, they kept watch all night before the day when she was to die.

And at dawn all the nobles and warriors performed a dance in this same courtyard, and with them also danced the woman who was to die, with many other women arrayed like her. The men went dancing in front, by themselves, and the women went behind them.

As soon as all, thus dancing, arrived at the pyramid where that woman was to die, they made her go above, up the steps. When she reached the top, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder; and in this position, they struck off her head and then tore out her heart and offered it to the sun. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast. Etc.

Vn dia antes que matassen a la muger que auja de morir: a honrra de la diosa xilonẽ: las mugeres que serujã en el cu (que se llamauã cioatlamacazque) haziã areyto en el patio del mjsmo cu, y cantauan los loores y cantares desta diosa, yvan todas rodeãdas de la que avia de morir, que yva compuesta con los ornamẽtos desta diosa. Desta manera cantando y baylando: velauan toda la noche precediẽte el dia en que avia de morir.

Y en amaneciendo todos los nobles y hõbres de guerra: hazian areyto en el mjsmo patio, y con ellos baylaua tambiẽ la muger que auja de morir, con otras muchas mugeres adereçadas como ella: los hombres yvan por si baylãdo delante y las mugeres yvan tras ellos.

Desque todos assi baylando: llegauã al cu donde auja de morir aquella muger, subiãla por las gradas arriba: llegada arriba tomauãla vno a cuestas espaldas cõ espaldas: y estãdo assi, la cortauan la cabeça y luego la sacauã el coraçon y le ofreciã al sol: Otras muchas cerimonjas se haziã en esta fiesta. Etc.

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

mecamatuj, quintzatzatzitia, quinujujtequj, quincujtlaujujtequj, quixipetlavitequj, quincujtlamelaoa. 796x 688

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

in tlanellacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque. [793]

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[5] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[6] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Auh yn oacico, yn ocaxitico aztapili: njman ie ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoicpalli netlaxonj: çãnoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli. 796x 285 352

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *maguey* roots, with fibers of *maguey*.

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica. 796x 284

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[7] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizтli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman iehoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcatricaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto. 796x 793

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli: 796x

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matiaxtli*.[8]

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn iztcol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

yoan itlan conana in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

1. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "todo lo ſ cosa dorava del agua, or muy blanco."
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were alternated (probably bottom to top): "*Luego las cosian, y entrepusian, entrepusieron, y entrepusian, lo blanco a lo verde: a manera de manera grandes.*" Elsewhere, he refers to "*petates jaqueados, de juncias blancas y verdes.*"
5. The number of caqueos is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 8.

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the [262] offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell [785] trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

in itlema: njman ie ic tlenamaca, quijsoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolodi, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oquimjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, motixitinja, moueuelоa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, cexciaca cōtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço itoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachiclo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjtnjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech quittazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic nexxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoā nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: quimocujlia intech monequj, quiqua: naujlhujtl in quimocujliaia, in motlauelenjaia:

auh yn xiamo onaci icalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic meztja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Bolondo ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (que) es como sacerdote; . . . tlamacazque, que es como diácono; . . . tlenamacac, que es como acerdote. De estos sacerdotes los mayores eligían por sumos pontífices. . . ."

8. *Ixnacat*: leaf (Molina, *op. cit.*), or species of tomato (Simeon, *op. cit.*).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "unos viejos, que llamaban quaquacujlti: los quales traían los cuernos colgados de sogas, empuñados sobre en la cerviz de la cabeça, que traía los cabellos largos, al cuero de los ombros."

All went to be bathed. They went sounding trumpets; they went blowing shell trumpets; they beat copper discs[10] with pine [hammers].

And all the priests carried on their backs their tobacco bags,[11] and their strings of *maguey* fiber about the neck, from which went hanging the little bags, which were filled with dyed, powdered tobacco. And the fire priest went ahead of them, taking his incense burner and his *maguey* thorn. And, with it, he carried his incense bag.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, called also the sorcerers' staff, which was thick, broad, very wide, and long—very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

No one else remained at the priests' dwelling; the house was all empty, deserted, tenantless.

And only four stayed there—singers, who sat singing, beating the drum, rattling the turtle shell rattle and the gourd rattle, and blowing the shell trumpet. They sat plying the shell trumpet.

And when they had reached the water's edge, the priests' bathing place, where, at the cardinal points, were the mist houses, thereafter all threw themselves down and seated themselves, trembling, shivering, quaking with cold, their teeth chattering.

Hereupon spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, where the water-gnats buzz, the place where the ducks alight, where the white reeds rustle."

When he had thus spoken, thereupon all plunged into the water; they churned it up—beating the water with their hands and with their feet, crying out. Speaking hoarsely, they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks, babbling; some mimicked wading birds, speaking like them; some imitated water ravens, talking like them; some talked like [large] herons, some like kingfishers, some like cranes.[12]

Where they bathed, there in their midst were

Vilos, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, quipitztiuj, in teocistli, cohcouiloc chilililti.

Auh in mochintin tlamacazque, quimamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan quinjacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiquipil.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, quiquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca nacalquaujtl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, quicacalatztiuh

aocac ce onmocaoa calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; quipitztoque in quiquijztli, quiquiçotoque.

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo:

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in vene itoca chalchiuhquaquilli: quitoa.

Coatl yçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaoacatinemj, quintlaichecalhuja yn izquichtin totome:

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin quintlaichecalhuja, in pihpitzti, pipitztlatoa: cequintin quintlaichecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalodatoa: cequintin aztadatoa, cequjotin azoquenotlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan maltiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuen-

[776 X 534]
[276]
[789]
[534]
[823]
[793]
[918]
[825]
[136]

10. *Chilili*: cf. Gabriel Saldívar: *Historia de la música en México* (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura," 1934), p. 21; *onhuanilo: acuallo (acad)(?)*.

11. *"Todos llamavan a cuentas, unos tabaquillos anidos con unas cordezicas de lhyli, con unas bolsas al cabo: y de otras colgavan, unas llenas de polvil pintado, anidas con las mismas cabezas, que llamavan pinpanchili: y en aquellas bolsas llevavan con manera de bocina, hecha a la manera de cuerno de venado, que ellos llamavan pinpanili, que era ahijadando con tinta, y con polvos de unas yervas que ellos llamavan yiaxil, que se crian hablando de castilla"* (corresponding Spanish text).

Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n.) writes: *"Acopetl: acatl cuan, yetl tobacco.* The Mexicans had three kinds in use: the *yetl* or Nicotiana tabacum fetid.; the *quauhyetl*: quauhtlo nicotiana, *yetl* tobacco, or Nicotiana rustica L.; and *pizietl*: pizietic small, *yetl* tobacco, or Nicotiana tabacum L., tobacco either in small or shredded in pellets called *yopochtli*: *yetl* tobacco, *quauh*, grand, or smoked in cigars or *poyatl*: *poyatl* smoke, *yetl* tobacco. When smoked, tobacco was mixed with *cuahuiezcatl*, aromatic herbs, and shredded." Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

12. These birds are described in Lib. XI, cap. ii, § 3 of Sahagún. Cf. Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 168-91. Their dubious duties respectively as (probably) green-winged teal; *hiri*; American egret or heron; kingfisher (*amapanes* or *amapanecatl*); and sandhill crane (*Mexico Español*, p. 118, notes 3-7).

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *maguey* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough."

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa. 796X

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tzhoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço tzvolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica. [291]

Auh yn jcnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn jxquich nequixtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, occac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo qujceliaia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia: [292]

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococoachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujcni: yoan in cequjntin tlacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcoemjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjxcalxaxapoctaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlalicinj yn etzalcoemjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmacoaliztli, inalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi, [535]

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njmon ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani conmololoa aiatl, itoca xiuhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, [293]

H. "Delfín de oreste" in Salvagño's Spanish text.

[796] mant cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [793] round, pleated paper flower," and from the nape of 292] his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[17]

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[18]

[824] And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[19]

And an old priest[20] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

[235] Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[21]

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech cloths, which they held in their hands.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

tzitzinuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yuan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

yoan mixquatexoujxaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujxaia, conapetzotiaia:

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatzatli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatzatli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

yuan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchixaoztli:

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhquin tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ynca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onnecotemalo, mec viloa.

Auh in ẽxqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oquintetecpanque, quintzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquasquatemotzoltzitzquitimanj, cequjntin in maxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

Auh in tlamaxtoton, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujlioia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech qujmaantiuj.

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, in-

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16. "*Una manta delgada transparente, que se llama mixtlapanecuyo*" (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions "*mantas delgadas que llaman ayal*" (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. "*Una flor de papel grande ensida, redonda a manera de rodela*" (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the shape somewhat as "*ornamento, que va sobre el pescuezo.*"

18. "*Al cabello, una flor de papel, sembrada frenesilla, que sobrepuso a ambas partes de la cabeza a manera de orejas de papel, cosas vanidades ellas.*" and, later in the same chapter, "*era ornamento, que se ponyan tras el cabello, cosas una flor hecha de papel*" (*loc. cit.*).

19. "Mexicans ointment (*ayauhtlatextle*) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (*apazotli*)" (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 91n.).

20. "*Hoy otro que se llamaua yaoteci. Es muy verde, tiene muchas cuentas y cruces sobre juntas hacia arriba: (y) siempre huele: se tambien medicinal para los que tienen calenturas, cambian y hablan con el cuesta: hace de incienso, y despues molido y mezclado con el cacao. Aprouecha mezclado para los que enseñan cantar: y para los que tienen calenturas*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 279).

21. Probably the singular of *quenquenilhuia* is meant by *quenenilli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quenenilli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio* MS contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*; and *diuyepilla yeuiuh yeoa ecuepili. auel in diuchichioalti yeuiuh papar y yeuiuh ecuc, cuauel yaoch palanoua, yaoch ytzcolinoli, yuic diuyollali ecuelliqui. quinquiloloti. ecuco quicuauilloti.*—and in the midst of them went what is called a royal ear, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper was hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They were carrying it with much reverence.

wind. And the fourth place which she entered was over there at Xolloco. [And] there she stopped.

[For] these were a part of, and carried together, the four year-bearers—Reed, Flint, House, and Rabbit. Thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, whirling around [as a measure of time].

When, at early dawn, Xilonen was to die, all during the night songs were sung after the manner of the women. Vigil was kept. Everyone passed the night watching; they slept not; the women remained sleepless. They sang the songs [of Xilonen].

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily, everyone—the leaders of the youths, the leading warriors, and the valiant warriors bore maize stalks. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced—those who were with Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers. And their faces were painted with yellow ochre. Also they colored their faces in two colors: about their lips they were yellow with ochre, and their foreheads were stained with the red of anatta seeds.[9] [They bore] their wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and the leaders had garlands of the yellow flowers of the *Carophyllus mexicanus* [about their necks].[9]

These women were known as priestesses. They mingled not with the men, but remained at one side. They were describing circles, and enclosing Xilonen. They sang for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the warriors danced before [Xilonen], following a serpentine course.

And for this reason were [the women] known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had tied to it a gourd, which was under the drum, which looked as if it were hanging beneath. They who struck the two-toned drum went carrying a little drum under their arms, which they beat, as they went, with rubber-tipped drum sticks.[10]

And the priests, [who] attended them, went blowing horns; they blew shell trumpets as they went. And they went strewing, scattering, and casting incense as they went to meet Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [Xilonen] as

ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonqujcaia,

çã qujtoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic qualaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh iontzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiooal in cioapan cujcoia, toçoosia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçoosia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia queviliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itechpouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjiccacxochiuh, inxoxochiconqui cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn ichoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oquichti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in ichoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa iteputzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa,

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8. *Bixa orellana L.*, the anatta shrub (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 4). Cf. also Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. "*Estas flores que se llamam entre[illegible], son amarillas y de buen olor*" (Bobadilla ed., Vol. III, p. 273). Tagetes, in Seler, *loc. cit.* See also p. 88, n. 15.

10. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93, n. 2), writing of the *tlamacazque cuicanime* (chanting priests), says "The player is called the *teponazqui*, and the drum, *teponaztli*. Made from the hollowed-out trunk of the *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. this drum has two notes; the rubber-headed drum-sticks are of elder." Cf. also Sahagún's description of the tongue on the bottom (corresponding Spanish text).

an offering, was richly arrayed and adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back, which was surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down in which were quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He carried a rosette on his back, which was made of paper, etc.

A man [priest] carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulder; he rattled it in three places. And when they had come to the place where Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board, and rattled it, and with incense went forth to receive her, and cast it toward her.

And then they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. First they laid her upon the back [of a priest] —not upon the offering stone, but rather she died upon [a priest's] back. And those who died upon [a priest's] back, they called "those who have backs."

Thereupon she met her fate and [the sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] suffered, when he had slain her, then he grasped her heart and planted it in the blue vessel. They who were well experienced knew where they cast it, where they required it.

And then all ate, for the first time, *tortillas* of green maize. For the first time the cane of green corn was offered and for the first time chewed, and likewise amaranth greens were newly cooked and once more the sweetness of flowers—the *Carophyllus mexicanus* and tobacco flowers [—was smelled].

And at the Feast of the Great Lords, there was a dance which was the particular function of the women—old women, young women, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were adorned with feathers and their faces were stained with paint.

Everyone made plain *tamales* and fruit *tamales* for themselves; they offered them as gifts to their gods.

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine. Never did a youth, a maiden, or a priest drink wine.

And if anyone was noted, great pains were taken that he be seized and put in jail, in the granary.[11] They all held council what might be done about it, and whether, perchance, they would punish him. [Evidence] was weighed; all discussed [his crime]. They determined whether [they would] show mercy; and if [they would] not show mercy, he was

11. See Plate 27.

muchichioa, quauhiztitl in quimama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quāmōloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc.

Ce tlacatl quiquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonē, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan quioaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, quicacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic quioalnamiquj, yuicpa quioalchaiaoa.

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in mijuja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa:

njman ie ic tlacoti, quiquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco quioallalia: iehoā quimati in machiceque catca in campa quitlalia, in campa quinequja.

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netoçiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan quitta oquichtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia.

Ixquich tlacatl motamaluja moxococtamalujaia: quintlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

Auh in ueuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmā aiac tlaoanaia in telpochtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioua, yn aço quitzacutiaz neetitilo, neixpātitilo: quipantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac,

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalictiuh in matepoztli, tlaximaltepoztli, vēl quipetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixc, in vncā titicujtztic, in vncā xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jtzalo xocotl, vel cōnevivilia in jtzalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no iehoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepātlaçque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin catca.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhquin mixpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzō, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no etetl tzocniotl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmā ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoanc, ximotilinjcan, ixquich amotlapal:

njmā ie ic queoatiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtoomaçatl, yoan qujquāmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie meoatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalaoa:

5. Probably *çacamecatl* is meant. Cf. the Jourdanet-Simeon edition, p. 129.
6. Reference could be to either paper or food (*tlaolmeca*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.' Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quixquixtiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia. [746 X] [252]

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaounalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quijlmach quicxipaca. [888 273]

Auh in oacic ic nauilhuitl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoistemaliztli: iquac quitepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhuitl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhuitl:

ioalnepantla, in quichioaia, ioxxtli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, iaoultic injc quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in tetеu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta ioxxtli, motenеoa: icxi. [793]

Auh in ohcoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza ioxxtli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohcoque in teteu: . [787]

njman ic quioalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omocavi in tlacatl:
in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quixxacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohcoque in teteu. [534]

Auh in jxquich macoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque intcupã, in intеtеupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in quinmanjlia:
auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioua: çan ie no ivi in quichioa, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, quimjcxipaca in ohcoque teteu. [888 273]

Auh in jmuxtlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzauac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Izcoçauh- [776]

7. The word *ololoia* is explained by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 307): "*Ahuh qual vuelo la tenue redonda como ololoia la tlaxqui xamalt chachamalt*"—"*y después amando vendan los dioses, se partía el tenue ololoia de harina de maíz.*"

I 796 [765] And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton [237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[1] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places [793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Itzillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast [776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, [342-513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

X 796 224 Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

suh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inezo, vncã contoca.

Auh in ciaomjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oonquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa conocaca in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: motenteoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc motenteoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in oconçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, nimã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn motenteoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aistle muchioaia, çan oc qujxquich haxtioa nexqualtilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo flatlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nchaapanalo:

mec vilo, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl mocilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniacaloa in jtquichtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

1. "Ye valle a la yerua" (zampan quiyauja). according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Costepetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznauac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Paynaltzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its hummingbird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli itexcal
costepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, expa in quiçaia ilhujuh, in quilhujquixtiliaia, yn ipan ce xivitl. 796[X]

Inic cepa ipan in mitoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in ichoatl vitzilobuchtli, ym omextin yn itoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quitlecaujaja in ichoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazquj, in telpuchtli in quinapaloaia: auh yn ixiptia catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tnoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 796[X]

Auh ynic vme in itoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tnoalli in ixiptla catca.

Auh in nuchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in nuchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh cenioual in quimicuxitiaia, in quintlacatiliaia.

Auh in otlatuje, ie otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, necococolo: auh çan ic oncalaquj, in tonatiuh, in quintlecaujaia: auh yn oquimontlalito, njman ie ic oaltemoa, vmpa ccioal cate: yoan quinpiaia tlamacazque, yn itoca Iiopuch: [793]

Auh yn otlatujc, niman ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quiujtl tlaca ietiuh: auh in quinapaloa, itoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynic muchichioaia, yvitzitzilnaoal, yianecuiouh, ytecujtlapil, ychalchiuhconquj: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, ichoatl in cujtlatecatl, çan mochc in teuxivitl: 796[X] 293

1. See Lib. II, esp. 1, § 1.
2. Described as companion of Uitzilopochtli. (Tlaquimilolo, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. II, p. 111.

A True Relation of all Those Who Served in the Houses of Each of the Gods.

The Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

Thus did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans with his sleeveless jacket, his incense ladle and his pouch, that he might with them pay honor to the devil. And so did he keep watch that verily it was a matter of his being like the father of [those in] the priests' dwelling. He was like the ruler of the lesser keepers of the gods indeed everywhere.

And all the children were left in his care, that he might train them, that he might by words move them to live well. And whether men commanded, or were rich, or were leaders, or directed, all this was the charge of the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans.

And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the lesser keepers of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should sin, much did the Keeper of the Gods of the Mexicans take heed of it.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac, Omacatl.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac similarly maintained usages, just as the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico maintained usages. Likewise he oversaw, in the priests' dwelling, that they trained the children well.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others.

The Keeper of the Gods of Others: his overseeing was similar to the overseeing of the Keeper of the Gods of Mexico. Because, in truth, he appointed to all how [those of the] priests' dwellings should oversee; how they should bring up the children, and train them; and, verily, the things which the lesser keepers of the gods everywhere should do.

Cuic Teohuda.

Cuic teohuan had as his charge that he should assemble the Cuicanimeuchtin [singers]; even all of

Imelaytca in inqujutin tlatzqujpanoaia in jochchian cecenme teteu.

Mexicatl teuhoatzin

Injc muchivaia mexicatl teuhoatzin ixicol, ielëtna, ixiquipil injc qujmaviztiliaia Diablo, yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac, iuhquin intlatocauh catca in teteuhoatzitzin injc novjian:

yoā in ixqujch in tepilhoan itech oncavaloia injc qujmixcaltiz, injc quivapavaz tlatoltica injc vel nemiztque, yoā in aço tlatocatiztque, anoço mocuiltonozque, anoço teiacanazque, tlapachonque muchi iehoatl inqujuh catca in Mexicatl teuhoatzin, [871]

yoā no iehoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaia in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi iehoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhoatzin.

Vitznaua teuhoatzin omacatl.

In vitznavac teuhoatzin, çan no iuhquj injc tlamanitiaia in juhquj ic tlamanitiaia Mexico teuhoatzin no iuhquj injc tlapiaia in calmecac in quenjn vel tlacavapavaia.

Tepan teuhoatzin.

In tepan teuhoatzin çan no iuhquj in itlapializ catca, in juhquj ic tlapiaia in Mexico teuhoatzin, ichica ca muchi iehoatl qujnnavatiaia in quenjn tlapianque calmecac, in quenjn tlacaxcaltiaia, tlacavapavaia, çan muchiuhquj in qujchivaia injc novjian teuhoatzinia. [871]

Vne techtin.

In vne techtzin inqujuh catca in qujnochicovaia ceremoniotechtin in ic nuchiuhtin, ainc mocavaia, auh

793 them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

793 [945] 273 Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

vncan tepan icaca in patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh muchivaia,

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncā conteca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie qujvalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cōmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

auh in ocōma, njman ic ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac ichoatl quiztaz coionquj, auh in aquin oquiztac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

ça icel quiticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlaonoc, njman ic viujlooa.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

793 [805] The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, inca yn itequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl quiçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipā tlatoaia, injc tletemaloz in ie muchi muchivaz muchi ichoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

Moloncoteuhoa.

In moloncoteuhoa, çan no ichatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copulli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isquich itech monequja in ichoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tliltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

Cinteutzin.

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isquich in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copulli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech monequja xilo-

the sweet-smelling herbs should be gathered together which [the goddess] Xilonen needed when her feast was observed. And he arranged for all [things] and the incense-ladles which the temple needed when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

nen in jquac ilhujuh quiçaia, ycan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen. 793

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan.

The Keeper of the Gods of Atempan—behold what were his duties. This one required, and hence commanded, that there should be gathered together the feathers, the eagle-down and the pointed eagle plumes, with which [she who was ornamented in the likeness of] Toci was adorned, when she died.

And this one cried out [summoning] the Huaxtec youths to do penances here at Atempan.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, izca in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ilhujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, yoan in quauhtevitztli injc mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan iehoatl quitzatziliaia in cuecuexteca in telpupuchtin, injc moçavazque vncã atempan. [203]

The Caretaker.

The Caretaker took charge of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. Greatly was he concerned that they teach the sacred songs, and he cried [the summons] that the singers be gathered, or the chiefs, that they might be taught the songs.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin quimocujtlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ie muchi teucujcatl injc aiac tlatlacoz, vel quimocujtlavjaia, injc qujtemachtiaia in teucujcatl, yoan qujtzatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc qujmomachtizque in teucujcatl. [533] [203]

The Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan.

The duties of the Keeper of the Goddess of Zapotlan were similar to what were the duties of the Keeper of the God of Atempan; for he was concerned with, and commanded that there should be gathered together all the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the sweet-smelling herbs which [she who was arrayed in the likeness of] Tzaputla tenan needed when she died.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin, çã no iuhquj in jtequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, iehica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauhtli, in jtech monequja in tzaputla tenan in iquac mjquja

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman.

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman was concerned that there should be torches, or bundles of resinous wood used as torches. And the charge of this one was that he should collect the red ochre, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and the bells which [the impersonator] of Xiuhtecutli, the old god, needed when he died.

Tecanman teuhoa.

In tecanman teuhoa iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli iez yoan iehoatl itequjuh catca, in qujnechicovaia in tlavitl, in tlilli yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, veuetecutl in iquac mjquja [373]

Ome Tochtli Tezcatzoncatl.

793 Ome tochtli Tezcatzoncatl: this one likewise was concerned with the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the foam sandals, the paper, the heron feather headdress, the pine flowers [as mentioned above]. Hence he commanded that all be assembled; that they gather together the offerings which [he who was ornamented like] Tezcatzoncatl would need when he died. This was done upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli.

In tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli, çan no iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in poçolcactli in amatl, in xztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc muchi monechicoz in valcenqujcaz in ventli in jtech monequja tezcatzoncatl in iquac mjquja ipã in tepeilhujtl mochivaia.

Ome Tochtli Yiauhqueme.

Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme likewise was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, the heron feather headdress, and the pine flower. Therefore he commanded that all that hath been mentioned be gathered, when they were needed, when [the impersonator of] Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme died. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli yiauhqueme.

In vme tochtli yiauhqueme çã ie no iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in xztatzontli, in ocozochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc monechicovaia in isqujch omjto, iquac monequja in iquac miquja vme tochtli yiauhqueme çan no ipan in te ·eilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Tomiauh.

Ome tochtli Tomiauh: the duties of this one were [that] he be concerned with all things needed when [he who was bedight as] Ome tochtli Tomiauh died —the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, which have already been told of. [This was] also upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli tomjiauh.

In vme tochtli tomjiauh iehoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch in monequja in iquac mjquja vme tochtli tomjiauh, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in e ixqujch omjto, çan no tepeilhujtl ipan.

Ome Tochtli Acalua.

Ome tochtli Acalua: likewise this one's duties were that he be charged with all the duties which Ome tochtli Tomiauh had.

Acalva vme tochtli.

In acalhoa vme tochtli çan no iehoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch itequjuh catca vme tochtli tomjiauh.

Ome Tochtli Quatlapanqui.

The duties of Ome tochtli Quatlapanqui were that this one was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the princely sandals which [the impersonator of] Quatlapanqui had need of when he died, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli.

Quatlapanquj vme tochtli.

In quatlapanquj vme tochtli in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan in itzcactli in jtech monequja quatlapãquj in iquac mjquja ipan panquetzaliztli.

Ome Tochtli Tlilhua.

Ome tochtli Tlilhua: likewise this one was concerned with the paper, the *copal* [incense], the sleeveless jacket, the bells, all things which have been mentioned, which also this one, [he who impersonated] Ome tochtli Tlilhua, needed upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tlilhoa ome tochtli.

In tlilhoa vme tochtli, çan no ichoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in isquich omjto, çan no ichoatl itech monequja in tlilhoa vme tochtli ipan tepeilhujtl. 793

Ome Tochtli Pitecatl.

Ome tochtli Pitecatl: this one produced the five[-fold] wine; he took by the hand and went with the artificer, the one who made the sacred wine, upon the feast of Panquetzaliztli, when they used the five[-fold] wine.

Vme tochtli pitecatl.

In vme tochtli patecatl ichoatl qujiolitiaia in macujlvctli imac concavaia in tultecatl ichoatl qujchivaia in teuvctli ipan panquetzaliztli in popolivia in macujlvctli. [273]

Ome Tochtli Napa Tecutli.

Ome tochtli Napa tecutli was in charge of the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber—all that was needed when [he who was arrayed as] Napa tecutli died, upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli nappa tecutli.

In vme tochtli nappa tecutli ipā tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli: in ie ixquich monequja in jquac miquja nappa tecutli, ipan tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Papaztac.

Ome tochtli Papaztac: this one also made the wine which was called "chalky wine." This one laid it before Moctezuma, and [did so] when all the children, or the men, or the women became drunk upon the feast of [Uei] Toçoztli.

Vme tochtli papaztac.

In vme tochtli papaztac, çan no ichoatl qujchivaia in vctli in mjtovaia tiçavctli: ichoatl conmacaia in motecoçoma, auh iquac tlanavaia ie ixq'ch pipiltzintin, in anoço oqujchtli, anoço cihoatl ipan toçoztli. [273]

The Same One Tochtli.

Similar were his duties. His charge was [like that of] Ome tochtli Papaztac; and [these things] were done upon the feast of Atl caualo.

Vme tochtli idem.

Çan no iubquj catca in itequjuh, in itequjuh catca, vme tochtli papaztac, auh in muchivaia ipan in atl cavalo. [273]

Cinaquacuilli.

The charges of the cinaquacuilli were all the offerings which were needed by her of the Temple of Atzuchicalcan [Toçi]—the flowers, the tobacco which she laid before Toçi; verily, all things which the women offered when the hand-holding dance was danced. All this was the charge of the cinaquacuilli.

Cihoaquacujlli.

In cihoaquacujlli itequjuh catca, in isquich ventli, in vncan monequja, atzchicalcatl, in xochitl, in ietl inje qujdamanjliaia toci vel inquich in cotlamanaia in cihoa in jquac navaloia ichoatl nuchi itequjuh catca, in cihoaquacujlli.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çā no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanalíztlj in tletlalilíztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, ichoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquiacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi ichoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcā.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan ichoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

[514 688]

Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlā, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia qujçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncā tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli qujtzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 532 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz ichoatl ichoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

might provide the singers and make them sound well, when they went to sing in the home of him who molded figures [of the mountain gods]. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton, passed judgment upon [the songs].

injc qujcativi in jchan in aqujn tepiquiz, vel ichoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton.

793
[532]

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton was upon [the pyramid], and his charge was that he caused it to be cried abroad that offerings [should be made]. When the little children, whether men[-children] or women[-children, first] began to talk, they went carrying their offerings of *copal* [incense], or flowers, or whatever sorts of gifts were made. Each of [these] things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

In jxtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtztiliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in in aço oquichtin, in anoço cihoa qujitquitivi in jnven in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ie isquich ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtquja.

[203]

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli, at [the Temple of] Aticpac, had encharged to him [her who was arrayed in the likeness of the Goddess] Aticpac calqui ciuatl, [and that] they should collect the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber which Aticpac calqui ciuatl needed when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire-priest put on her skin and went forth holding a [live] quail in his teeth, which went dangling from his mouth.

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipā tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh qujxipehoaia in jiehoaio cōnaqujaia tlenamacac, yoan qujtlanquativja çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli, at Atlixeliuhqui.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui was charged with collecting the adornment, the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the sweet-smelling herbs, the chalk, the black stain, and the heron feather headdress and the tousled hair which [he who was arrayed like] Opochtli would send when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in jnechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztactōtli, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtli in jquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico.

The Keeper of the God Xipe, at Iopico, took care, when that one [arrayed in the likeness of the god Tequitzin] died, of the paper, the *copal* [incense],

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujnecujtlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in ichoatl tequjtzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahujtl, auh injc mopotonjaia in-

and the foam sandals, the red ochre; and that this one be arrayed in feathers—in white turkey feathers—and in the fine mantle of masterly design which fell his lot.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli, at Pochtlan, oversaw that they should collect for him [who was to be arrayed as] Yiacatecutli the various feathers, the rabbit fur—all the feather[-like adornment]; and the precious mantle, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the sandals of all colors.

The Same, for Chiconquiauitl, at Pochtlan.

Chiconquiauitl: this one also oversaw all that hath been mentioned which the keeper of the god at Pochtlan oversaw.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan.

The Keeper of the God of Izquitlan looked after the sleeveless jackets, the bells, and the foam sandals, and the sacred wine, and he took the syrup [from the *maguey*es] in the fields. This [*maguey* plant] was afterwards broken up, that no one might drink [of it], and that no one might take it.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca Gods, at Zapotlan, had it in his charge that [he who impersonated] the man of Zapotlan be adorned, [and supplied with] paper, *copal* [incense], and incense ladle—all things which the man of Zapotlan needed when he died upon the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue Acatonal.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal oversaw the gifts and caused it to be cried abroad what this [woman arrayed in the likeness of] Chalchiuhtli icue needed when she died—the pine-nut skirt, the

hoatl in iztac totolihuitl, yoan in tolectilmatli tultecajutl in ipā vetzia.

Pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli.

In pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli ipan tlatovaia quinechicovaia in jjacatecutli in nepapan ihuitl in tochiuitl in ie ixquich ihuitl. yoan in tlaçotilmatli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan tlatlapalcactli.

Chiconqujahujtl pochtli idem.

In chiconqujahujtl, çan no ithoatl, ipan tlatovaia in jxquich omito in ipan tlatovaia pochtlan teuhoa.

Izqujtlan teuhoatzin.

In izquitlan teuhoatzin ipan tlatovaia, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoā in poçolcactli: yoan teuvctli, concuicuja in necutli in mjlpā, ichoatl in quin omotlapan in aiaiac quj, in aiaiac concuj.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca, ipan tlatoaia injc muchichioaia in ipan miquja in tzaputlacatl, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in tlemaitl, in ie ixquich itech monequja tzaputlacatl in iquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal cuacujlil.

In chalchiuhtli icue acatonal quacuilli, ipan tlatoaia in ventli, quixxatziliaia in jxquich itech monequja, in ichoatl chalchiuhtli ycue in ipan miquja, in oco-

wear skirt; and all the paper, the *copal* [incense], and still other [things].

calcueitl, yn acueitl: yoan in ixquich yn amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in oc cequj.

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli.

Acolnauacatl, Acolmiztli had charge of all the adornment with which this Moctezuma adorned himself when he fasted. Only upon the great feasts did he fast—when all fasted for Tlaloc, and when there was fasting for the sun, and for [the feast of] Quecholli. [He] saw to the mantles, the sleeveless jackets, and the foam sandals.

Acolnaoacatl, acolmiztli.

In acolnavacatl acolmiztli, ipan tlatoaia in ie ixquich nechichioalli, injc mochichioaia in iehoatl motecuçoma, in jpan moçaoaia: çan ipan in veucy ilhujtl moçaoaia, ipan in netlalocaçaoaloia, yoan in netonatiuhçaoaloia, yoan in nequecholiçaoaloia: ipam tlatoaia in tilmatli, in xicolli, yoan in poçolcactli.

The Keeper of the God Totoltecatl, at Tollan.

The keeper of god of Tollan: this one saw to what [he who impersonated the God] Totoltecatl needed: the paper, the *copal* [incense], the [liquid] rubber, and the princely sandals, the heron feather headdress, and the lordly flowers—verily, all that [the impersonator of] Totoltecatl needed when he died, at [the feast of] Quecholli tlami, [or] when it was the feast of Tepeilhuitl.

Tullan teuhoa totoltecatl.

In tollan teuhoa, iehoatl ipã tlatoaia, in jtech monequja totoltecatl: yn amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan yn itzcactli, yn aztatzontli, yoan in tecusuchitl: in ie ixquich itech monequja totoltecatl, in jquac mjquja, ipan in quecholli tlamj, auh in quenman ipã in tepeilhujtl.

● 743 **A True [Relation] of what Was Accomplished and of the Works Which Were Done in the Houses of the Devils.**

Imelaoaca in neiehecolintli anoço tlatequjpanolintli in muchioaia teupan in tlacatecuiocalco.

The Education of Men.

The priest who educated [the young priests] led them by the hand to the priests, to those who dealt blows, to those who guarded.

Tlacazcaltilintli.

In teizcaltiaia tlenamacac, imac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavitequjnj, in tlapianj.

Admonitions.

Thus they admonished them, that they might lead good lives; that they might not waste time nor live lazily.

Tenonotzalintli.

Ic quinnonotzaia, injc vel nemjzque, in amo maviltizque, in amo tlatziuhtinemizcque.

Sweeping.

[356] That they might sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little priests that they should sweep.

Tlachpanalintli.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuitvalco quintzatzilia in jxquichtin in tlamacazcatepitzitzin injc tlachpanazque.

The Laying of Fires.

[357] And he had them see to it that they should lay fires, that they should watch them, where they set in order the various fires. And everywhere in the temple courtyard fires were laid; there perchance [even] ten rows [of them] burned—very many [of them].

Tletlalilintli.

Ioan quincujtlaviltiaia, injc tletlalizque injc tlapialoia, vncan netetecoia in tletl itla, auh çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuitvalco, in tlequazco in vncan in vncā tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cēca mjiec.

Guarding During the Night.

Guarding during the night: they who were priests cared for [this]; it was the duty of those who were trustworthy.

In iovallapialintli.

In iovallapialintli ichoantin quimocujtlavjaia, in tlamaceuhque, in jxtlamatque intequjuh catca.

The Carrying of Wood.

[373] The carrying of wood. Thus they took care that fire should burn in the priests' dwelling: those who were very young priests gathered it—they who were not yet very prudent.

Quauhçaquilintli.

In quauhçaquilintli, injc tlapiaia in tlatlaia calmecac, ichoantin concuja, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati.

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The Cutting of Thorns.

The cutting of thorns: they cut them who were priests not yet much experienced. These [were the ones] who took them.

Vitztequjliztli.

In vitztequjliztli, ichoantin cōtequja in tlamacazque in ąiamo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnōtlacuixque.

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The Gathering of Fir Branches.

The gathering of fir branches: likewise they who were priests secured them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçaqujliztli.

In acxoiaçaquiliztli, çan no ichoantin concuja in tlamacazq̄ auh ichoantin in ic ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets.

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the charge of those who were young trumpet-blowing priests; and [they were] experienced and of various sorts.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

In tlatlapitzaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. yoan in ie ixtlamati neneliuhtivjia.

[534]

The Dissolving of Black Coloring.

The dissolving of black coloring was the task of those [who were] the young blowers of shell trumpets. These dissolved the black stain, and everyone anointed himself with it. Verily all together put it on when they stained themselves; none failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it in the black stain canoe. And the black coloring was dissolved only at night, and all stained themselves at the moment of dawn.

Tlilpatlaliztli.

In tlilpatlaliztli, ichoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tlilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel mocemaqujaia injc moçaia, acan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncā in tlillacalco, auh in tlilpatlaloia, çan iovaltica, auh in neoçaloia iquac in tlavizcalli ichoa.

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Account of What the Women Did There at the Temples.

Behold the life of the priestesses whom [their mothers] vowed [to service] there in the great temple.

In this manner they put them [into the temple], when yet very small—perchance after [they were] already twenty days or forty days [old]. And thus they took them; thus they left them there. Only they went carrying them; they went in the arms of their mothers. And then they went with their brooms which went filling the arms of the children; and they bore their incense ladles and *copal* [incense]. Not yet was there fire [in the ladle]; wherever the old priest so disposed, there would the incense ladle be used.

And when she had gone to dedicate the little girl, she thereupon took her away. She left there only the incense ladle and the *copal* [incense]. And this old priest then admonished the mother that she not lose her child through neglect, and that [the child] not fail to go to leave the brooms and the *copal* [incense], or wood shavings, every twenty days there at the tribal temple.

And when already discreet, when already a maiden, purely of her own will she went into the tribal temple. And purely of her own will she performed the veiling [ceremony] and also went taking with her the incense ladle and *copal* [incense].

And when she was a grown woman, if this priestess was asked [in marriage], and if the words were well spoken, and if the fathers and the mothers and the lords of the suburb agreed, thereupon were a number of things bought. They bought quail, and *copal* [incense], flowers, tobacco, and an incense ladle. And food was bought.

Then this priestess forthwith went to perform the veiling [ceremony] and took with her all that had been bought, as hath been told. And for her performing of the veiling [ceremony there was] a cape called *tlacuquechtli*, which had many heads [worked upon it]. Thereupon they laid out a large cape, the *quechtli*. Then they set forth the offerings in a reed vessel; here they placed the gifts that they might

Inchoaca in quenja tlatoquiçpanoaia cioa in vmpa tẽpũ. 793

Iccatquj, in jnnemilix in cihoatlamacazqueq, injc qujnnectoltiaia in vmpa vej teupan.

Jnjc qujncalaqujaia, oc vel tepitoton, aço qujn ie cempoaltia, anoco qujn ie vmpoaltia. auh injc qujnvicaia, injc qujmoncavaia, çan qujnnapalotivia, çan inmac ietivj in jnnanvan, auh njman impopouh ietivia, in pipiltotonti inmac tentivia, yoan intlema qujzquja, yoan copalli aiatle vnietiuh tletl qujn iehoatl qujmatia in iehoatl quacujilli in campa moneq'z in tlemaitl.

Auh in ocõnectoltito in cihoapiltontli njman ic qujvica: çã ixqujch in vmpa concavaia in tlemaitl, yoan in copalli: auh in iehoatl, in quacujilli njman qujvalnaoatia, in nantli injc amo qujxiccaoaz in jconeuh yoan injc amo tlaxiccaoaz, injc qujcaoatiuh in popotl, yoan in copalli, anoço tlaxipeoalli, in cecempoaltica in vmpa calpulco.

Auh in iquac in ie movelitta in ie ichpuchtli, çã monomavizia in calaquja, in calpulco: yoan ça yiollotlama in teisquentiaia, no qujtqujtiuh in tlemaitl in copalli.

Auh in iquac in ovelmaçic cihoatl, intla ie itlane, in iehoatl in cihoatlamacazqui, auh intla vel omotlali in tlatolli intla ocenque, in tenahoan, in tenanhoan in tlaxillacaleque in pipilti, njman ie tlacocohoalo qujcohoa, in çolin, yoan in copalli, in suchitl, in jietl, yoan in tlemaitl, yoan mocohoaia tlaqualli,

njman in iehoatl in cihoatlamacazqui njman ie ic isuh in teisquentiz qujtqui in jequich omococouh, in omjio, auh injc teisquentiaia in tilmatli itoca tlacaquachtli, tzotzontecomaio, njmã ie ic contlalia in cenca vej tilmatli in quachtli, njmã ie ic tlamana acaquauhcaxtica, vncan contlalia in ventli in quil-

● 793 [262] cenmih—four foods of only three *tamales*. Thereupon they offered a wooden vessel filled with only five *tamales*, and a sauce perchance of turkey or of duck, which they had gathered together as food.

viuia tlacatlaqualli çan ettl, in tamalli, njman ic ic conmana, in quauhcaxitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço tecolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctiuia tlaqualli.

Here Endeth the Part of Book II Called the Appendix.

Nican tlami in icuonoca inic vme omaxtli yn jtoca apendix.

Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Inic chicome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin quimõcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanitiliztli, ynic tlamanja in vmpa motenecoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in quimaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aquin quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nexcaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teixcaltiloian, chipaoaca nemooaiã, nexiiiecolotia, nẽmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmã hatzoio, hatcuhio, acle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemilix, yn calmecac neoapaoaliztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza quincentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã quincentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamacazque, nican anoalmoxicatiaque amoxcitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocxinamiquilique, aço cana amoxcitzin oanqujoalmocuelhuique, oanqujoalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan amechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anqujmocuilia, anqujmocaqujltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl coscatl quetzalli, oquijnomacavili in toteujo, in tloque naoaque

tiremiqui, ticochitleoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in piltõtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopaztli, aticmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlaquitzin, yn axcan ivicctzinco tiqujtoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 22, says they were taken by the *calmecac* at the age of four. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200, says the age for those entering both the *calmecac* and the *telpochcalli* was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the *calmecac* than in the *telpochcalli*. Cf. Cano, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Cano (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the *calmecac*. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. *Yn noanõ, yn noti*: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "*in ganze Verhältnissen sich befindenden Mütter (und) Väter.*"

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the *calmecac* and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cano, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[5]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquizcali, in jxaiocali, in tlaoculcalli, in vncan izcaltilo, oapaoalo in totecujooan in tepilhoā.

auh in vncan tlaitlanililo, in tloque naoaque, in vncan ixillā, itoxcatlan mamaiaooa in iehoatzin totecujo, in vncan tlamatataquililo, in choq'tica, in jxaiotica in elciciuiliztica: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in iehoatzin, ca vmpa toconitoa in ichantzinco, in vncā pitzalo, mamaiioa in izcaltilo ī totecujooa, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanoaztli, tlacuicuiliztli, chico tlanaoac, tlatequiliztli quimochivililiz in totecujo:

amocuexantzinco, amoteputzinco, amomamalhoaztzinco, tocontlalia, manoço tlacaoa in amoiollotzin, ca tamechtoconemaquilia, ma tlacaoa yn amoiollotzin ma xiqualmanilican, ma quimontoca, ma quimonnelo, in izcaltilo, in oapaoalo, in tlamaceoa in ceioal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jntetepontzin ic tlaçatimj in quimonochilia, in quimoztaztzililia in totecujo, in choca, in tlaocuia, in elciciví;

ca izquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaqujtia tlamacazquehe.

Jzcatquj, injc tlananquiliaia, ynjc quicuepaia tlatolli in tlamacazque.

Ca njcan tonconcuj toconana in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzi ma çā tehoan titottati, ma tictolhuiltocati, ma tictomactocati, in njcan oalquiça in amihjiotzin, in amotlatoltzī injc ica, injc ipampa, anmonētlamachitia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, ca çan tictotlacaquililia in totecujo in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotonquj anca quen quimonequililia, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequililia yn amehoantin, anca quepami iez, in coxcatl, in quetzalli,

mach tocontotenitalhuizque in ma iuhqui, y, in ma iehoatl, y, ma tictocentemachilicā in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequililia, ma oc titlacentemachica,

5. Mention of the protection of the god and the priests, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the colonnade came the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (*Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.). Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 124-5) writes: "*La segunda manera de lebantarse los hombres era por la ydalguia allegandose al aquelarde de donde despues de honor auvido en los trabajos con gran exerçiçio y penitençia y recogimiento se yvajan ansimesmo los mesmos a dignidades y cargos honrrosos en las republicas que oy en dia tienen entre ellas dandoles unos diandos y nombres que hablando en nuestro romance y segun el respeto y reverencia se les hacia y oy en dia se les hace se suelen dezir duques o marqueses obispos o arzobispos &c. pues con ellos se celebravan las cortes y se tomavan los pareceres y consejos se juntavan a los cavildos y juntas. Los reyes sin el ynterjo y parecer destos no tomavan hacer cosa cual el mesmo modo que los consejos que su magestad tiene para descargo de su real conçiençia asi a la manera nuestra eran estos pesonas en aquellos dignidades despues de largas penitençias y trauajos y hida y ynterjo a los quales quando los dauan estas dignidades y remunbres hazian muchas ceremonias cerimoniales segun largo cuento hauendolos la tierra ese que siempre vsaban embiandos de nuevo que pudiesen dallo al nombre de determinado pues con aquellas cerimonias celebravan grandes prohibiciones y autoridad de cavalleros haciendo gran fiesta y banquete y oy en dia se hace al uso antiguo lo qual pueden afirmar como testigo de hista pues me he hallado en mas de quatro grandes fiestas y pues que he que sabes y entendido el fruto destas quiere declarar los dichos quales son conforme a mesr diuinamente espiritualmente diuerbalmentemy inspiracion hasta nuestros dias.*"

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchioaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jnven muchioa, 814 793 565

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tliltica, vel quixtlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicozcatia, yn jcnoçiaca çan ixquich potonquj quicozcatia, njmã quinacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio piltõdli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, iconquj vmpa [illegible]caoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque, [302] [301]

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

6. *Aristolochia maxima* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*).

[p. 62a is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, which telleth of the way of life which they kept in the priests' house, where lived or were reared the fire priests and [other] priests.

First: All the priests slept there in the priests' house.

Second: It was required that everyone should sweep when it was well before dawn.

Third: Those already grown, already [more] hardy, then went to seek *maguey* thorns. They said, they pruned the *maguey* thorns.

Fourth: When they were already novice priests of whatever kind, they went forth when it was still night, or when midnight had passed; they started to go to the forest in order to gather and carry upon their backs wood which they called logs. This they burned all night in the priests' house as the priests kept watch.[1] And if anywhere mud [for adobes], a wall, cultivation of the soil, or a canal were to be undertaken, all went forth just before dawn. Those who guarded [the house] were left [behind], as well as those who would go to serve the food. They went in a group. None failed. In good order they passed the whole day.

Fifth: A little before they ceased their work, they went to see to the god's affairs, the duties in the priests' house, and the penances. When still a little sun [shone], or when it was already becoming dark, [this was the time which] was called the cutting of *maguey* spines. When it was quite dark, when it was already deep night, then the priests began what was called the placing of the *maguey* spines. One at a time they went forth. First [each] bathed himself. Then they took [their] shell trumpets, and incense ladles, sacks filled with incensè, and they took up pine torches. Thereupon [each one] set forth to place the *maguey* thorns. They went naked. Those who would perform great penances[2] might go as far as two leagues to place the *maguey* spines—perchance

Injc chicuey capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, in nemiliztli, in mopiaia Calmecac, yn vncan nenca manoço muzcaltiaia tlenamacaq̃ yoan tlamacazque.

Injc centlamantli. yn vmpa calmecac muchinti vmpa cochi in tlamacazque.

Jnjc. ij. muchioa muchi tlacatl, tlachpana in vel oc iooa.

Jnjc. 3. iñ ie tláca, in ie chicactotonti, njman vih in quitemozque in vitztli, in quitoa vitztlapanazque.

Jnjc. 4. in ie vel tlamacaztoton, in çan oço ie quenamique, oc iooan, anoço iooalnepantla oonquiz, in onpeoa quauhtla vih, in quavitl concuj conmama, in quilhuja mimiliuhqui, in ceiooal quitlatia calmecac ynjc tlapia tlamacazque. auh intla cana pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, muchioaz, vel oc iooan in viloa, mocauhtivi in tlapizque: auh niman ie ieboantin in tetlamacativi, ololiuhtivi, aiac polivi, vellatecpanpa in qujtlaçaia cemilhujtl.

Jnjc. 5. çan cuel in quicaoa, in tlatequjpanoliztli quioalmati, yn jnteutequjuh in calmecac tequjtl, in tlamaceoaliztli; yn oc achi tonatiuh, anoço ie tlapoiaoatiuh mjtoa vitztequi, yn ovellaiooac, in ie tlaquauhiooa; njmā onpeoa, in tlamacazque in mjtoa, movitztlalizque, ça vel cecenme in vih, achtopa mahaltia, niman concuj in tecciztli, yoā tlemaitl, tozitli, copalli ontentiuh, yoan concuj ocutl, njmā ie ic vmpeoa in movitztlalitiuh, petlauhtiuh, in cenca vel motlamaoaltia aço ome leguas in ovih movitztlalia, aço quauhtla, aço ixtlaoacan, aço atlan yn tejccatoton, in anoço aqujn quinequi, aço media legua, in izuh in onmo-

1. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 227) writes: "*Avia Veladores, que velaban las vigilias de la noche, unos en los Templos, y otros en las encrucijadas de las Calles y Caminos. Estos velaban por sus quartos, y horas, mudandose, acabado el tiempo de su vigilia, y vela. Unos velaban desde la prima noche, hasta las diez, otros hasta media noche; y tocaban unos, estavalos en la vela otros, hasta las tres de la mañana; y à estos seguian otros hasta el Alva. Su oficio era despertar à los Sacerdotes, y Ministros, los que velaban en los Templos, para que acudiesen à los Sacrificios, y horas nocturnas. Los de las encrucijadas, à luz de la Republica, para lo mismo, conforme estaban obligados. Tenian tambien cuidado estos Velas de alimpiar el Fuego de los braseros, para que siempre ardiese, y nunca se apagase. Y à esta Vela Romanam Izquelilcalli, que quiere decir Vela.*"

2. The context of this passage suggests that *motlamaoaltia* might better read *motlamacaoaltia*. Otherwise the passage *in ovih mo[t]lamaoaltia* might be rendered "[before whom] one was much frightened."

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others vitztlalia, iteccin ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl mcoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aqujn tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vctli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õnaltiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, ceqnjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ie cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Tlapaloa, es. *tomar el pan casi passijo, quitlo comer*" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

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no. well, then they drew blood from him [with magney spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[1] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in aquja amo vellatea, in amo vel tetlapaleui njman quiçoçoia.

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Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtiloia in cujcatl in quilhuja tecuicaad, amoxxotoca. Yoan vel nemachtiloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl.

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Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepializtli, in chipeoca nemiliztli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaixiciecoliztli, njman-aiac ixtlacatia, vel tlateumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel tenimacaçini catca,

çan cuel inq'ch, y, nican onmitoa, in jnuemiliz catca tlamacazque, oc mjec in mocaoa in jmitoaia meoeqoj vccã mitoa.

1. Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, Códice Xolotl (Mexico: Universidad de Utah y de México, 1951) p. 75, pl. V, and elsewhere for examples of married priests.

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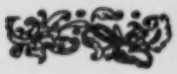

793 **Ninth Chapter:** here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] these whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Injc chiconnauj capitulo: vncan moteneoa yn quenjn mottaliaia pepanaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quoquetzalcoa, ynjc ce totecu tlamacazqui, ynjc vme tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cẽca muchipa iehoan quintlalia in vel ittlamatque muzcalianj.

Auh in aquin vel qujmonemiliztia, y, yoan in oc cequi in jnnaoatil tlamacazque, yn jnnemiliz, iehoatl ano, iehoatl pepenalo, in teupixqui muchioa, qujpepena in tlatoani yoã in tecutlatoque, yoan muchintin in tlatoque, Quitlatocaiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, ce itoca totec tlamacazqui, ce itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn qujavitl, ynique, y, çan vel neneuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicentzacuj icnotlacatzintli, ynãtzin, ytatzin, intla ie vel quichioa, in jnnemiliz, yn jnnaoatil, tlamacazque iehoatl ano, iehoatl quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, aço totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemilizdi, vel ie motta, vel ie motemoa. in qualnemilice, itã iecnemilice, in chipaoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoiyiollo, in tlapaccaihjiovianj, in tlarepitzvianj, in tlaiolicvianj, in ãno mocivianj, in iollochicaoac, in iollotetl, yn iollochichic, in tepepepetlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teltaocuilianj, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlatetumatini, in teuimacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elciciuinj;

Auh injc oalpeoa y, oc itoca tlamacazto, njman ie tlamacazqui, njman ic tlenamacac, ic mavizti, y, njman ic vncan ano, y, in mjtoa quetzalcoatl.

1. "El nombre de Quetzalcoatl [sic] dado a ambos, es por excusarle del dicer que se considerasen por los mesmos nombres el sacerdote del mesmo" (Cano, *op. cit.*, p. 45). Intermediate offices between these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in *Ibid.*, pp. 47f.; see also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 178f. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, for which cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 198ff. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: "Tenian un Rector, y governador los sirvades, y hazian cumplieron."

2. The roots of *teopixqui* are *teotl* (god) and *pix* (guard). Cf. Simeon, *op. cit.* The dictionaries define the term as priest.

3. *Tecutlatoque*: Sahagún describes them as "los mayores jueces . . . otros semejantes eran ygual diligencia los mesmo que ellos a sus mesmo"; on the death of chiefs, they were among the electors of a new one (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 76, n. 7.

793 And this priesthood lived in moderate circumstances and followed a distinguished way of life. For rather severe was the life of the priests.

Thus was the manner of rearing of the priesthood distinct from that of the young [warriors].

Auh ynjn tlamacazcaiotl, çaçan veli, çaçan qualli yn ipan nenca, in quimonemilixtiaia, ipampa yn achi ovi, yn nemilitzli catca tlamacazque:

çan vncan xeliuhticatca yn neoapaoalizti, tlamacazcaiotl, telpochiotl.—/—

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the clouds.

The Land of Tlaloc

He was considered a god. To him were attributed rain and water. Thus they said he made that which we ate and drank—food, drink, our sustenance, our nourishment, our daily bread, our maintenance. All that which grew in the summer he made—sprouts, fresh green sprouts, trees, amaranth, *chia*, squash, beans; the maguey, the tuna cactus; and still others, not edible—flowers, grasses.

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And when his feast was observed, first there was fasting for four days. The priests fasted in honor of Tlaloc in what was called the priests' house, where they had matured and grown.

When the fourth day had passed, when the fasting had ended, when the feast had been completed, [the evildoers] were plunged and submerged repeatedly in the lake. Not soft, not gentle was the punishment. They were plunged and immersed repeatedly in the water. They ill-used only those of their own kind. They dragged [the victim] back and forth through the mud. They plunged him under the water and dragged him; they went pulling him along by the hair; they kicked him. [As] he swam under the water, churning, beating, and swirling it up as he went, he escaped the hands of the priests.

When a fault had been committed in the priests' house, or some error had been done—even though someone had only stumbled, or tripped over something, at once, for this, they laid hold of him. Because of it they shut him in as their captive, no more taking their eyes from him, that they might plunge him in the water.

And to excess did they set upon him. Greatly did they afflict and torment him. He lay half dead, breathing his last, gasping, in his last agonies; at death's door [was he] whom they finally cast on the shore. No one could plead his cause. From thence [the victims'] fathers and mothers took them. And if anyone felt apprehension or foreboding for his son, in order that [the priests] should not plunge him into the

Ic macuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in mixtli.

Tlaloc tecutli,

Teotl ipan machoia, itech tlamiloia, in quiauitl, in atl: inh quiotoaia, ie quichioa in ticoca, in tiqui, in qualoni, in joani, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocochca, in tonaluca, in tocemilhuiciaia, in tonacaiotl: in ie iquich xopaniotl, in itzmolintoc, in celintoc, in quauitl, in cauhtli, in chian, in xiotetl, in etl, in metl, in nopalli: yoan in oc cequi, in amo qualoni, in xochitl, in xiuitl.

Auh in ionac ilhuiquitilitoia: achtopa nauilhuitl moçoaia, motlalocaçoaia in tlamacazque: in motecca calmecac mocoupaoa, monealtia.

In ionac çaoic nauilhuitl, in ie neoalco, in ie ilhuitl mochioa: motlampapachoaia, mopopolactiaia in uei apan: amo iuian, amo motlamachuja, in atlan onmotzotzopontilaça, onmotzotzopontimaiaui: çan monetechuja, vncan çoquiztlan quinemjtia, quipopolactia, quimulana: icpac cantinemi, quititilinça, nali tlamotzopontinemj, aiocuecuenemi, tlamomoloczinemi: ionac monnitlaiaoaui, in tlamacazque,

in eztlatoco, in calmecac itlã onchalo: inclanel çan aca tlamotzopolani, itlã ococuixiuopenh, oc uel ic conacique, ie ic inmal ça quipipia, aocmo conjcaoa, inic catlampapachoaque.

Auh amo çan qnenja quipoloa: uel quicocolitia, quellelanitia, ça quen quimatoc, ça mopopoçaoalo, ça iquimocuepa, ça micqui in quiualmaiaui atenco: ainc uel ipan tlatoa, vncan quimmana in inchalo, in inaiolo. Auh in aquin quitlamachcaitilia, in quitlatlauhtilia ipiltzin, inic amo catlampapachoaque: cuecuepitinia ilhuia quimacaia in tlamacazque, ayo tetlan, ayo tlapalli: ie quicoaia.

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water, in order that they should let him go, he offered the priests something of value—either a turkey or food. In return for it they let [his son] be.

And when this came to pass, everywhere, in the houses of all, in each house, *eta·lli*[9] was eaten. Each one made *etaulli* for himself; and there was a dance in which *etaulli* was begged. With green maize stalks they danced. Those who danced the *etaulli* dance entered house after house, each one begging and asking. [The householders] offered them all this same *etaulli*, [placing it] in the small jars, the *etaulli* jars, which they bore in their hands.

These [gods] were called Tlaloca. To them were attributed clouds, rain, hail, snow, mist, sheet lightning, thunder, and lightning bolts which struck men.

The Rainbow

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As if arched—bent and rounded—it thus appeared. Varicolored, many-hued was its appearance. The single colors which showed in it [were] green, dark green, blue green, and black; and yellow and orange or tawny; then vermillion and ruby red; and [various shades of] blue, and dark green.[10]

And they said that when it appeared it revealed, made evident to men, and denoted—whereby it was known, realized, and seen—that it would not rain; would not rain hard—would not pour. But it would break up the clouds. It would dissipate, impede, and quiet the rain—the downpour which wet, soaked, and drenched one. If clouds piled up, if heavy clouds blackened [the sky] so that everywhere it was dark, it only dissipated [them]. Although it rained, no longer was the rain heavy; no longer did it increase. It only sprinkled; it drizzled; a few drops fell; a haze, a fog, a thin mist drifted and fell. Or at most it sprinkled; the sprinkling and the spray continued.

And they said—it was averred—[that] if it appeared over magney plants, because of it the green [leaves] yellowed, turned, dried, reddened, and withered. And also they said [that] when it appeared many times, thereby it was evident [that] the rains were to end forthwith. They said: "Soon the masters of the rain will go; already the Tlaloca are about to leave."

Auh in iconc, y, in nouiian techachan, in cecencalpan ezcalqualoia: cecenca nezcallaoiuia, yoan ezcalmaceoaloia: cintopiltica mitotia, tepan cacalaqui, motlatlaeuia, motlatlaelanja, in ezcalmaceoaluc: çan mochi in ezcalli quinmaca, inzonzochuicol, inecezcalcon intlan caana.

In ichoantin, y, motenecu tlaloque: itech tlamiloia in mistli, in qtiauitl, in teciutl, in cēpaiauitl, in xiauitl, in tlapetlanilitztli, in tlatlatzinilitztli, in teuiztequiliztli.

Aiouhcoçanalotl

Iubquin uitoliubqui: tlauitoltic, coltic, inic oalmoquetza, tlatlatlapalpoalli, motlatlapalpouh in itlachielin. In centlamantli tlapalli, itech neci: xoxoctic, quiltic, quilpaltic, iispaltic, quilpalli, iispalli: yoan coztic, xopaltic, xochipalli: nimaan ic chichiltic, tlapaltic: yoā tlauitaleoaltic, tlauitaleoalli: yoan texoltic, texōlli, matlaltic, matlalli.

Auh quiiocu, in iconc oalmoquetza: quineuia, quiteittitia, quineaccuiuia, ic macho, ic machiztli, ic itto: in amo quiauiz, amo tlachquiauiz, amo tilaoaz: çan quimomoiaoaz in mistli, quipopoloa, quelichtia, quiiacatzacuilia in qtiauitl, in tlachquiauitl: in tepalcalli, in techacoonti, in tepopotili. Intla ceuca omotlatlali mistli, in oncā cuicuichcoac, in amoiiuc tlatlaiooac: çan quipopopoloa. Intlanel quiiaui, aocmo ceuca tilaoa, aocmo mollauia: çā aocchipiaui, aocheli in oncuetzi, in oachichipini: aocchipitzactli, aocchipcilli, aocchpicilotoa, in oztitzicoaui in oncuetzi: aoocc çan aocheliaoc, aocheliaoctinemi, aocheteztlelhuiaoani.

Auh quiiocu, quilnach inela metl, ipan moquetza: ic macuepalcihui, macoçauia, macuepa, machichilini, matlatlauja, macuechauja. No yoan quiiocu, in iconc miecpa oalmoquetza: ic neci, çan cuel quiçaz, in qtiauitl: quiauia, çan cuel iuepac in aoapac, ic quiçaquac in tlaloque.

9. Bandelier cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 79.

10. Sahagún (*Memorial de Tlatelolco*) has green for *coztic*, *quiltic*, *quilpaltic*, *iispaltic*, *quilpalli*, and *iispalli*. Alonso de Molina, in his Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), gives blue-green for *quilpaltic* and brown or black for *iispaltic*. The second occurrence of this latter and of *quilpalli* is omitted in this translation. Molina translates *xochipalli* as ruddy or sun-colored. In *Memorial de Tlatelolco*, Sahagún treats both *chichiltic* and *iispaltic* as red. For *chichiltic*, Molina has red or sun-colored. For *matlaltic* and *matlalli*, the *Memorial de Tlatelolco* has blue.

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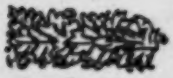

Tenth Chapter, wherein is described the disposition of those who kept watch when the new fire appeared.

Inic matlactli cupitulo, vncan motenecoa, in tlatecpanilistli: in quipiaia, inic ilcuic tletl necia.

At nightfall, from here in Mexico, they departed. All the fire priests were arranged in order, arrayed in and wearing the garb of the gods. Each one represented and was the likeness of perhaps Quetzalcoatl, or Tlaloc, etc., or whichever one he went representing. Very deliberately, very stately, they proceeded, went spread out, and slowly moved. It was said: "They walk like gods." Thus, in deep night, they arrived there at Uixachtlan.

Ie tlapoiaoa, in nican oneoaia mexico: motecpantiuia mochinti in tletlenamacaque, muchicliuhtini, ommaaquia in intlatqui teteu: in cecemiaca inpan mixcoaia, quinmixiptlatiaia, in aço quetzalcoatl, anoço tlaloc etª in çaço ac iehoatl ipan quiztiuia, cenca çan iiolic, cenca çan iuian in istiuiia, onotiuiia, mantiuiia: motenecoa, teunenemi, inic uellaquauhioca onaci, vmpa uixachtlã.

And the one who was the fire priest of Copulco, who drew new fire, then began there. With his hands he proceeded to bore continuously his fire drill; he went about making trials with his drill, the fire-maker.

Auh in iehoatl çopolco tlenamacac, in tlequauhtlazqui: niman nican quipeoaltia, in imac quimamaltiuh itlequauh: quichecotiuh ica in imamalioaca, in itlaçaloca.

And when it came to pass that night fell, all were frightened and filled with dread. Thus was it said: it was claimed that if fire could not be drawn, then [the sun] would be destroyed forever; all would be ended; there would evermore be night. Nevermore would the sun come forth. Night would prevail forever, and the demons of darkness would descend, to eat men.

In iqnac, y, oiooac, cenca nemauhtiloia, tlatenmachoia: iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlacamo, uel vetzic tlequauid: vncan cempoliooac, centlamoua, centlaiooa, aocmo onlquiçaz in tonatiuh: ie ic centlaioca, oaltemoaque in tzitzitzimi, tequaquioi:

Hence everyone ascended the terraces; all went upon the housetops. None remained in their houses, on the ground below. And women with child put on masks of maguey leaves and took up their maguey-leaf masks. [They] placed [the women] in granaries, for they were looked upon with fear. It was said and claimed that if, truly, the new fire were not drawn, then also would eat men; [for] they would be changed into fierce beasts.

ic mochi tlacatl itlapanco tlecoia, netlapantemaloia, aocac tlalchi, tlatzintla, cali mocaoaia, motlalitia. Auh in oezti, momezcaiacatiaia, inmemezcaiac quicuia, yoan cuecuecmac quiotlaliaia: ipampa mauhcaitoia, iuh mitoaia, quilmach intlaca uel uetzi tlequauid: no iehoantin tequanque, motequãcuepaque.

And the small children they likewise masked with maguey leaves. In truth, none [of them] could sleep, or close, shut, or [even] half-close their eyes. From time to time their mothers and fathers were [there with them]; they kept waking them, punching and nudging them, calling out to them. They woke, stirred, and nudged them. Because if they were to

Auh in pipiltotõti, no quimmemezcaiacatiaia: aiac vel cocochiz, oniccpia, onnicpiquia, oniiemoztlouia: çan ic cete in inteliooa, in intaiooã, quimixiticate, quimicpiticate, quimtlotlicate, quimtzamiliticate, quimixitia, quimicpia, quimtlou: ipampa intla cocochizque, quilmach quiquamichtin mocuepaque, quimichiaque.

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sleep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was heed paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uixachtecatl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would burst forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

[785] Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and spattered the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and spattered it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

[782] Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *itzpanac*. Etc.

Ic ça miscauja, mocemmati in ontlachielotoc, in onitztotoc, in ōnequechanotoc, uixachtecatl iicpac: isquich tlacatl vmpa ontlatenmati, ōmotemachia, in quĕmanja uetzi tlequauitl, in quĕmania oalcueponi, oalpetzini. Auh in icoac, oquenteltzin vel uetz, in onopitz, in onotlac: çatepan ic cuetlani, cueponi, nouiian ōneci, oalitto in vĕca.

Niman ic muchi tlacatl monacaztectiuetzi, contlatzitzicuinilia isquichcapa in tletl: in manel coçolco onoc no connacaztequi, concuilia iniezço, contzitzicuinilia in tletl: ic mitoa, ca muchi tlacatl tlamaceoa,

ic coneltetequi, in jelpan ontlequauhtlaxoc, conelcoionja in malli, ica tecpatl: itoca isquaoac. etc.*

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Eleventh Chapter, in which is told what they did when it was seen and was evident that the new fire burst out.

And then everyone—the priests and fire priests—took the fire from there. [Having come] from all directions, the fire priests of Mexico had been sent there, charged with the task, as well as those who had come from distant [places] everywhere—messengers and runners. For these were all only chosen ones, strong warriors, valiant men, picked as best; the fleet, the swift, who could run like the wind. Because through them they could quickly have fire come to their cities.

First, the fire brand was prepared and adorned. It was called *tlepilli*. And this the fire priests brought. Before [doing] anything else, they took it up, direct, to the top of the temple [pyramid], where was kept the image of Uitzilopochtli, and placed it in the fire holder.[16] Then they scattered and strewed white incense [over it]. And then they came down, and, also before [doing] anything further, they brought and took it direct to the priests' house, the place named Mexico.[17] Later, this was dispersed, and fires were started everywhere in each priests' house and each tribal temple; whereupon it went everywhere to each of the young men's houses. At that time all of the common folk came to the flame, hurled themselves at it, and blistered themselves as fire was taken. When thus the fire had been quickly distributed everywhere among them, each one laid a fire, and was quieted in his heart.

This same all the village fire priests did. That is, they carried the fire and made it hasten. Much did they goad [the runners] and make them hurry, so that they might speedily bring it to their homes. They hurried to give it to one another and take it from one another; in this way they went alternating with one another. Without delay, with ease, in a

Inic matlactloce capitulo, vncan mitoa: in tlein quichioaia, in icoac omottac, onez, in ocuepon ilcuic tletl.

Auh quinicoac, isquich tlacatl vmpa tlecui, in tlamacazque, in tletlenamacaque: inic ie nouiiampa vmpa oioaloque, oisquetzaloque, in mexico tlenamacaque, yoan in ie nouiian veca oaleoa, titlanti, tlaioaltin: ca çan much ichoan in pepenaloia, chicaoaque, in oquichtin, in tiacaoan in tlatzonanti, in painanj, in tlacçani, in iuhqui hecatoca ic motlaioa: ipampa inic iciuhca, caxitiuetzizque tletl imaltepeuh ipan:

ca achtopa ic nenemachtiloia, muchichioaia in tlecuioani: itoca tlepilli. Auh ieehoatl, ic quioalaxitiaia in tlenamacaque: oc ie achto, vmpa quitlecauiaia, quitlamelaoaltiaia in iicpac teucalli: in vmpa mopieia ixiptla vitzilobuchtli, tlequauco contlaliaia: nimã ic contepeoa, contoxaoa in iztac copalli. Auh niman ic oaltemo, oc ie no achto, vmpa quitqui, quitlamelaualtia in calmecac, itocaiocã mexico: ic çatepan moiaoa, tletletlalilo in nouiian cacalmecac, cacalpulco: niman ie ic iauh, in nouiian tetelpuchcalli. Ie vncan in isquich onxoquiui, onmotepeoa, ontapaliui maceoalli, in motlecuilia: icoac ic nouiian, tepan moiaoatiuetzi in tletl netletletlalilolo, neioiollalilo.

Çã no iuh quichioa, in isquich altepeoa tlenamacac: inic quitequia, quinenemitiaia tletl, cẽca quitototzaia, quimotlalochtiaia: inic iciuhca caxitizque inchan, quimomamacatiquiça, quimocuicuilitiquiça: ic mõpapatlatiui. Amo uecauh, amo machiztli, çan isquich cauitl, y, in conaxitiaia, in quicueponaltiaia: çan achitonca in nouiiampa, cuecuepocatimoteca

16. "Ye considéres, hacha de oul y cuerno, pouero delante del ydolo"—corresponding Spanish text.

17. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, thus explains this distribution: "Y de allí tornauá y llenauan al aposento de los mercaderes, que se dizé tecalmecac: y despues a otros aposentos, de los dichos mjnistros, de ydolos: y de allí tornauan, y llenauan todos sus vezinos, de la ciudad."

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short time they caused it to come and made it flare up. In a short time everywhere fires burst forth and flared up quickly. Also there they first carried and brought it direct to their temples, their priests' houses, and each of their tribal temples. Later it was divided and spread among all everywhere in each neighborhood and in the houses.

tletl, cuecuepocatiquiça: no vmpa achto quitquitiquiça, quitlamelaoaltitiuetzi in inteupan, in incalmecac, in incacalpulco: çatepan ic moiaoa, tepan cẽmani in nouiian tlâtlaxilacalpan, yoan in calpan.

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Variously they named the sheet lightning or thunder bolts. They attributed them to the Tlalocs or *tlamacazque*. They said that these made the thunderbolts and sheet lightning and peals of thunder, and [that] they smote with them whomsoever they would.

Por diuersos nombres nonbran al relampago o rayo atribuyẽle a los tlaloques o tlamacaces. Dezian que ellos hazian los rayos y relampagos y truenos y ellos herian con ellos a quien querian.

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Fifth Chapter

Clouds and rain these natives attributed to a god whom they called Tlalocan tecutli, who had many other [gods] under his command, who were named Tlalocs and *tlamacazque*. These [people] thought that they created all things needed for the body, such as maize and beans, etc.; and that they sent the rains so that all things growing in the earth would

Las nubes y las plusias atribuianlas estos naturales a vn dios que llamauan tlaloca tecutli, el qual tenia muchos otros debaxo de su dominio a los quales llamauan tlaloque y tlamacazque. Estos pensauan que criauan todas las cosas necesarias pa el cuerpo como mayz y frisoles etc. Y que ellos embiauan las plusias para que naciesen todas las cosas que se crian

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burst forth. And when they observed the feast of this god and his subjects, before the celebration, those whom they called *tlamacazque* (who lived in the temple house named *calmecac*) fasted four days. And, the fast concluded, if there were a malefactor among them, in honór of those gods they mishandled him in the lake, dragging and kicking him through the mire and through the water.

en la tierra. Y quando hazian fiesta a este dios y a sus subiectos antes de la fiesta ayunauã quatro dias aquellos que llamauan tlamacazque los quales morauan en la casa del templo llamada calmecac. Y acabado el ayuno si algun malhechor entre ellos avia por honrra de aquellos dioses le maltratauan en la laguna arrestrandole y acuzandole por el cieno y por el agua.

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And if he tried to rise, by force they again pushed him under the water, until they almost drowned him. They who, in the house called *calmecac*, committed some fault—like breaking some vessel, or some such thing—these they seized and kept under guard in order to punish them on that day. And sometimes the parents of him who was thus detained gave chickens or capes or other things to the priests so that they would let [him] go and not drown [him]. To those whom they thus illtreated, neither their parents nor their kin dared show favor nor speak for them, if previously they had not freed them while they were imprisoned; and so badly did they treat [the victims] that they even left them almost for dead cast on the brink of the water. Then their parents took them up and carried them to their houses. In this feast of these gods, all the common folk ate maize boiled like rice. And the priests went dancing and singing through the streets. In one hand they carried a stalk of green maize, and in the other a pot with a handle. In this way they went asking that [the householders] give them boiled maize. And all the common folk cast that boiled maize into the pots which they carried.

y si se queria leuantar tornauãle por fuerça, a meter debaxo del agua hasta que casi le ahogauã. Los que en la casa llamada calmecac hazian algun defecto como es quebrar alguna basija o cosa semejante los prendian y tenian guardados para castigallos aquel dia. Y algunas veses los padres del que así estaua preso daban galinas, o mantas o otras cosas a los tlamacaces porque lo soltasen y no le ahogasen. A los que maltrataua desta manera ni sus padres ni sus parientes osauan favorecellos ni hablar por ellos si antes no los avian librado estãdo presos y tanto los maltrataua hasta que los dexaua casi por muertos arrojados a la orilla del agua. Entonces los tomauan sus padres y los lleuauan a sus casas. En esta fiesta destos dioses todos los maceuales comian maiz cozido hecho como arroz. Y los tlamacaces andauan baylando y cantando por las calles en vna mano trayan vña caña de maiz verde y en otra vna olla con asa por este modo andauã demandando que les diesen maiz cozido y todos los maceuales les echauan en las ollas que trayan de aquel maiz cozido.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*cuipilli*, *enaguas* (Chapter 19). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

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[p. 36(H) is blank]

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Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoxtlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacubtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, youn tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [781] [276 415]

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yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moxtlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoxtlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Glaubenswelt der altmexikanischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form name: "*Da er im Text durchgängig bemerkt, die den Copalbeutel trägt, wird er sich um Priester handeln.*" The term *durchgängig* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlicht als mit einer Schnur.*"

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684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[3] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk.

[689]

Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachiliz, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui omomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoclo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

3. *Atl*: probably *ade* is meant.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 293 727 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with] quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimã ye ic quimaca im motecciuiçoma in tlauizcalli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 727 And the captive he then took there where he was to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuã quinchiuaya. Auh niman cõmaca ỹ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

● [793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitztiqz in imal. uel ispã im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ỹ ye iuhqui in oc̃e-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in õya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cõmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in õya. niman ic cõuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moychcultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman õmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca onmaquetztiteca niman ic cuneliteq' concuilia in iyollo coniuilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

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And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecnotitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui onmicouac. nimā ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecenteti in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuātin ypilhuā in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui
ye totec, [çan moquetzticaoqui][3] in ieuayo. in is-
quichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in ime-
uayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco.
inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh
no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan
miuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl
in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'misnamictimo-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh
nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in toto-
tecti q'monCotonilia in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzonte-
contitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mōcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel 431
nouian calaq̄ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y compoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlacuā. in quchcua cō-
maca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yui.

3. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

423 which "the king" (viz. the tlatoani) belonged. These lands "passed
428 from fathers to sons... and if anyone died or went off to other parts, his house and his land remained, and by order of the king or of the ruler, the others of the district put another in his place," and they could not sell them (33), and the tecpantlacas worked them personally

33. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

(34). These data indicate to us, first, that among them obtained

34. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

the same situation as obtained among the lands of the calpullis and tlaxilacallis: distribution in family parcels and inheritance of use, and that they had a certain unity with respect to a group which used them: its "faction" [*"parcialidad"*]. All this makes us think that the tecpantlalli were of a calpulli or of a tlaxilacalli, the calpulli or the tlaxilacalli to which the tlatoani belonged.

423 /p. 42/ We are not told only of the tecpantlalli, but also of the tecpillalli, which "were almost like what they called pillalli" (35).

35. Ixtlilxóchitl, II, p. 170.

Tecpillalli is translated as lands of the pilli or of the pillis of the tecpan, which explains to us what sort of lands they were that received this name: the lands destined for the sustenance of the pillis of the tecpan—the nobles of the calpulli of the tlatoani—, lands which possibly formed a unit with the others of the tecpan, perhaps inlike manner to the lands of other calpullis divided between macehuales and pillis.

There were lands and cultivated plots for the temples (36). These

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36. Román y Zamora, I, p. 120; Zurita, p. 176.

surely were of two types since on the one hand there was "a lot in each ward" (37), that is, they were certainly distributed by calpullis.

37. Ramírez Codex [*Códice Ramírez*], p. 79.

423 794 793 But on the other hand there were others which were not or appeared not to be in the same condition, since in these the priests functioned as mayordomos (38) and had tenants and neighbors who gave tribute

38. Clavigero, I, p. 281.

only to the temples (39). Perhaps this means that they were calpullis

39. Román, I, p. 120.

or tlaxilacallis whose lords were priests. Reinforcing this assertion is the fact that these people were differentiated from others and felt it to be an honor to be occupied in that employment (40), somewhat

40. Torquemada, II, p. 165.

similarly to what happened in the case of the tecpantlacas. What we can deduce from all the above, anyway, is that in order to speak of the lands of the Temples one takes as criterion the tribute and not the direct utilization of the land by the priests. Furthermore we can ascertain from our data that the calpulli was an organism basic to the existence of these lands in their particular distribution: each calpulli giving a part of its products, or entire calpullis dedicating themselves to giving tribute exclusively for the sustenance of the religious needs. In some cases these were towns removed from the city proper which were tributary to the temples and which alternated each half year (41). But we do not know what happened during the

41. Torquemada, II, p. 164.

half year when they did not give tribute to the temples. It may be that they continued with their calpulli organization and perhaps only gave tribute to their lords.

423 652 Something similar to that which occurred with the lands of the temples happened with the lands for war, or yaotlallis, which had various names according to the products which they yielded, cacalomilli, milchimalli (42) and which were "for /p. 43/ food

42. Vetancourt, I, p. 372.

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721 sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

721 When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous ●793 priests who were in the great Cue[1] near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

[1] [i.e., temple pyramid.—Analyst]

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believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Azoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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793 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
346 Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

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428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case [589 784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship, or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111] No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the [587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 764 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs 428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

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[111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 347–353), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1514, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 106, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamante's "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV, p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 336, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

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the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 121-123) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Zurita* (p. 121): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 533): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredades para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 69).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que allí se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmecac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 333): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 127 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 18th edifice "Tlilancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civacoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

19th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

20th edifice, "Vitznaoac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202).

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 203).

28th edifice, "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

30th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac, "monasterio ó oratorio," (p. 207).

31st edifice, "Tezcatzoico-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Tezcatzoncatl," (p. 207).

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346 the abodes of such men as underwent the severe trials preliminary
793 to their investiture with the rank of chief ("tecuhtli.") The word "calmecac" is often interpreted as "dark house" but its etymology is probably quite different. In no case, however, was that building a school for a "privileged class of children.[105]

582 *The kin had the right to regulate and to control marriage.*[106] We have seen that the obligation to marry rested upon every member of a "calpulli." Where tribal society is still in its pure and original condition marriage in the same kin is absolutely prohibited. The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans were closely scrutinized by the Catholic church, and a rigid investigation by the early missionaries has proven that not only was marriage between close relations strictly prohibited, but it was also discouraged (if not forbidden) between members of the same kin.[107] Mr.

In all, seven "calmeca" within the enclosure surrounding the great "house of god" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan. *Torquemada* (Lib. VIII, cap. XI to XVI) also describes the various places, mentioning "Huitznahuacalmecac." "Casa de recogimiento, y habitacion de los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este lugar" (p. 150). "Tlamatzinco calmecac," donde vivian y tenian su asistencia los Sacerdotes, y ministros de este dicho Templos" (p. 151). "Yopico calmecac" "donde habitavan, y se criaban los muchachos" (p. 153). "Calmecac"—"donde se criavan los niños" (p. 149). Besides these statements, the two authors just quoted allude to the Calmecac in the same manner at various places. *Sahagun* (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VII, and especially Cap. VIII, pp. 274–276). Already the title of this chapter is significant: "De las costumbres que se guardaban en la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, donde se criaban los Sacerdotes, y ministros del templo desde niños." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, pp. 468–471). *Johannes Eusebius Nierembery* ("*Historia Naturæ*," Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, pp. 143–146). He copies Hernandez who, in turn, almost verbally agrees with Sahagun. *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302; Cap. LI, p. 337). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 439).

[105] *Molina* (II, p. 11). "Calmeca tlatolli," "palabras dichas en corredores largos" and "Calmelzetli," "Sala grande y prolongada, ó corredor de la casa." The word may be decomposed into "Calli"—house, and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, or "mecati" a cord or tie. "House of Ties"?

[106] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 74).

171 [107] Already *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII) pictures vividly the difficulties encountered by the priests in regard to regular marriage. The first question to be determined was that of the legitimate spouse. This has already been investigated in a former note. The next question was that of the degrees of consanguinity, or affinity. It was rigidly inquired into whether perhaps, custom had sanctioned intermarriage of brothers and sisters. *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 439): "No casan con su madre ni con su hija, ni con su hermana; en lo demas poco parentesco guardan; aunque algunos se hallaron casados con sus propias hermanas;" thus admitting the fact that intermarriage of that kind existed. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 305) also concedes that such may have been the case, and infers that these marriages should be regarded as valid. The question of intermarriage between children of the same issue becomes important through the statements and discussion of *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. VII, p. 469) about the matrimonial customs of the Indians of *Vera-Paz*: "The Indians of Vera-Paz were compelled frequently, on account of their customs of relationship, to marry brothers with sisters for this reason: It was not customary for those of one clan, or tribe, to marry the women of the same tribe (pueblo), and thus they sought for them from others, because

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Third Chapter, in which is told the omen taken as a portent when at night they heard as if someone shot iron arrows into something or as if he chopped wood; this they called the night axe.

Ic ei capẽtalo, vncan motenteoa: in tetzaujtl catca, in tetzammachoia: in ẏquac iooaltica quẏcaquja, in juhquj aca, tlatepuzmjuja: in juhquj quauhxeloaia, in qujtoaia, ioaltepuztli.

Likewise there was an omen which was taken as and considered portentous; its name was the night axe. When it made itself heard, it was well into the night,[1] when none spoke aloud.

No ioan, tetzaujtl catca, netetzaujloia, tetzammachoia: in jtoca ioaltepuztli. Iquac caquijztia, in ouellallimjctimotecac: in aocac naoati.

●[719] When the priests went forth to do penances and to lay down fir branches at their places of doing penance on mountain tops, wheresoever they all went, then it was heard that it resounded like someone chopping and splitting wood. It rang out for a great distance; much did it frighten the people. It made them faint and swoon with fear. This night axe, so we are told—it was said that it took the form of Tezcatlipoca, to make sport and fun of people.

In ontlamacoaato, in onacxoiatlalitẽ tlamacazque: in jatlamacoaian tepeticpac, in çaço campa ie, onuja, inic mocaquja, inic caquiztia, iuhquin aca, tlatzeloa, quauhxeloa: cenca veca caquijzti, cenca temamauhti, teiolmjcti, teoẏolauh. Inin, ioaltepuztli, iuh mjtoa, qujlmach iehoatl, ipan mjxcoaia, in tezcatlipuca: inic teca mocaciaoaia, teca maujltiaia.

They said that he who looked upon it, one who was bold and wise, and not given to fright, of strong spirit,[2] could then hurl himself at it. He seized it and would no more give up, in order to see it. He would call to it as to a person and, indeed, hang on to it—force himself on it—as he pursued it. He followed at its back and forced it on; because thus he could catch it and see what manner of omen his was. Thus do they say, that whosoever would catch it when he saw it could with difficulty approach it; yet he pursued it and made it go everywhere; everywhere he came up to it.

qujtoa. In aquin quiztaia, in mjhiuintia, in iiollo quimati, in amo momauhtiani, in tonallapaliuj, vel ic momotla: quimomaca, aiocmo quicaoa, inic vel quittaz, quitlacanotzaz, vel itech mopiloa, itech motlapaltilia, inic quitoca: quiẽpuztzoca, quitlalochtoca, ipampa inic vel caciz: quittaz, in quenamj ittzauh: in juh conitoa, in aquin vel cacia, in quittaia: aiaxcan in vel itech pachiuj: oc quitotoca, noujã quinemjtia: noujan caaxitia.

When he tired it, somewhere on the road he awaited it without fear. And when now he saw it, he beheld it like a man without a head—a headless one, with neck severed at the nape, and with chest framework and belly broken open. Thus they said it was thought that that which was heard was his [split] chest framework when its halves met [like] a mouth continually opening and closing, with a sucking sound.[3]

Iquac in oquicianmjcti, cana otlica quioalmuchiel-tia: auh in ie quitta in ie quiztticac, iuhquin tlacatl quechcotonquj, quechcotoctic, quechtepultic: ioan elchiquiuhtlapanquj, ellapanquj: in juh conitoa: quilmach iehoatl, in caquizti, ielchiquiuh: iuhquin ommonamjquj ommocacamapiquj, ommopipiquj, onchachaquanj.

1. *Corresponding Spanish text: "el primer sueño de la noche: quando todos duermen profundamente."*
2. *Ibid.: "algun hombre animoso y esforçado y esforçado y esforçado en la guerra."*
3. *Ibid.: "el pecho arrojado abierto: y tenya cada parte como una portezilla, que se abrian, y se cerravan, haziendose en el medio: y al cerrar, decian: que hazian aquellos golpes, que se oyan lexos." Text Pl. 2.*